THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 19, 1947 NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

WITHOUT LOOKING FOR THE SINISTER, WE find painfully suggestive the apparent attempt of the House Administration Committee to keep from the public a booklet on "Fascism in Action," prepared by the Library of Congress. The printing of nearly half a million copies of a companion volume, "Communism in Action," has been authorized by Congress, but Representative Patman's bill to print the document on fascism was quietly interred in a committee pigeonhole, from which Patman has been vainly trying to extricate it since February 5. The subcommittee charged with consideration of the bill is headed by Representative Corbett, a Pennsylvania Republican who airily dismisses the study as "pretty old stuff." He may be right, but we see no reason why the country should accept, as the last word on the subject, the decision of a single Congressman, particularly one with an ultra-conservative voting record. The four editors of the New York *Post's* "Washington Memo" have smoked out Patman's introduction to the booklet, and judging from the excerpts printed in that column, we would guess that the study might be something of a bombshell. Certainly it is not "old stuff" for a Texas Democrat to write that "there are dangerous tendencies toward fascism in the U. S." Or that "some of our top political men make statements in thinly veiled terms which would do credit to Rosenberg, Hitler, or Goebbels." We suspect that there is something more in the suppression of this study than Mr. Corbett's casual and high-handed judgment on its freshness, and we mean to keep raising the issue until we find out what that something is.

✶

A POSSIBLE CLUE IN THE MYSTERY OF THE suppressed booklet is the following sentence in Representative Patman's introduction: "One of the great deterrents to fascism is a strong, well-organized labor movement." This is not the sort of sentiment a Republican Congress might care to release, under the sober imprint of its own Library, at the very moment it brings forth a bill to draw and quarter the aforesaid labor movement. Certainly that is the plain intent of the omnibus bill which will in all probability have cleared the House by the time these observations appear. As drawn up by the Labor Committee, the bill would free the courts to hand down anti-labor injunctions, good for seventy-five days, abolish the National Labor Relations Board, and put an end to industry-wide bargaining. It would not only illegalize the closed shop but limit the union shop to plants where the employer, as well as a majority of the employees, consented; and strikes called for the purpose of winning such consent would be prohibited. Strikes in major industries and services would be stopped by government injunction where not only the public health and safety were deemed to be threatened but even the "public welfare," a notoriously elastic phrase. No strike could be called without a thirty-day cooling-off period, unions would be made legally liable for damages, and, finally, no union would be certified as a representative of employees if a single member of its hierarchy might "reasonably be regarded" as a Communist or even a fellow-traveler. We doubt that a single member of the House expects this monstrosity to become law. The Senate may be driven to exert a modifying influence—and if it isn't modifying enough, the President will almost certainly veto the whole measure. That, in fact, appears to be precisely the idea: to give the President a choice of mayhem or nothing.

✶

FACED WITH THESE ALTERNATIVES, FEW doubt that Harry Truman will choose the veto, and accept the political consequences. These should not be anything like as damaging as the consequences of abetting the Congressional assault on labor, but they can hardly be altogether favorable. There are abuses in labor, as there are in business and government—and the public does expect action. The strike of telephone workers has raised once more the acute problem of how far the strike weapon can be used in such vital fields as communications and transportation without paralyzing a whole society in the interests of a single group. It raises, too, the equally acute problem of how workers in key industries and services can be compensated for any modification of the right to strike, and their interests fully safeguarded. If the Republican majority in Congress had an eye for anything but the crassest political advantage, it would have shunned the pathological approach it has taken and considered the sober and genuine proposals that thoughtful men have been evolving. Congress, the Administration, and indeed labor leaders themselves would do well to start with the report just released by the Labor Committee of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 437
Mr. Churchill's War *by Freda Kirchwey* 439
Balancing Act *by Ezekiel Schloss* 440
Challenge to Business 441

ARTICLES
Will Business Bring Down Prices? *by Simon O. Lesser* 442
Iraq: Black Gold and Poverty *by Andrew Roth* 444
Labor Coalition in Holland *by Reinhold Niebuhr* 447
Dixie in Black and White. III. Big Jim of Alabama *by A. G. Mezerik* 448
Inquest on the British Press *by Aylmer Vallance* 451
Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 453
In One Ear *by Lou Frankel* 454

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
The Shorter Toynbee *by E. D. Myers* 455
Two French Novels *by Gertrude Buckman* 456
An Old Quarrel *by Maxwell S. Stewart* 456
An Unconvincing Genius *by Anthony Bower* 457
The Court and the People *by Charles E. Noyes* 458
Wanted: Politics to Match *by Ben B. Seligman* 458
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 459
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 459
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 461

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 463

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 208 *by Jack Barrett* 463

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors
Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: William B. Brown
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Twentieth Century Fund on "Strikes and Democratic Government." They would find here at least the outlines of an intelligent pattern: retention of collective bargaining and the unimpaired right to strike in private industries that do not vitally affect the public health or safety; relinquishment of the strike in other industries in return for carefully specified guaranties and advantages. The committee, headed by William H. Davis, proposes some sensible rules for government seizure when necessary—with limited compensation to the owners rather than continued profits—but its emphasis is on plans for conciliation, arbitration, and other democratic forms of settlement. If President Truman has to veto a bad bill, his action need not be purely negative. An accompanying message along the lines of this report would be good politics—and good statesmanship.

*

GENERAL DE GAULLE HAS FINALLY MADE his choice—from now on he will be, not above the battle, but in the midst of it. Since the day when the hermit of Colombey emerged from retirement and installed himself in Paris, a feeling of uneasiness has pervaded French political circles. Whatever his intention, the self-styled *homme de la tempête* cannot possibly return to the political arena without creating a storm. No doubt he would like to exercise the opposite influence, as a kind of sage who alone knows the remedy for France's *malheur*. But in the present situation there is no place for sideline philosophers; the tension between left and right has already reached such explosive pitch that his veiled attacks on Republican institutions may easily shake the foundations of the state. For precisely this reason, many of De Gaulle's advisers are urging him to exchange the cloth of a French Savonarola for the warrior's armor. In his recent speeches at Bruneval and Strasbourg, the General disclaimed any intention of leading those elements which are ready to unleash a new wave of reaction in France. He was careful, in his references to the Soviet Union, to make no mention of Churchill's proposal for an anti-Russian bloc; the French are much more interested in finding a common policy with Russia on the German issue. And in Paris the other day, he warned that internal political reforms must be effected "within the legal framework." Obviously, De Gaulle is treading warily with an eye to the latest opinion polls, which show that only 28 per cent of the French people would like to see him back in power. But despite his careful language the General evidently failed to reassure Premier Ramadier who, after a long conversation with him, inspired the vigorous attack of the Socialist Party against De Gaulle's policy. For the first time, Léon Blum has openly denounced his attempt "to provoke new divisions under the guise of total unity of the nation" and appealed to the progressive forces "to stand guard over republican institutions and democratic liberties."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Churchill's War

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

NO ONE would dare say that Winston Churchill is without honor in his own country, but as a prophet his British rating has certainly declined. Not so, apparently, in the United States. His pronunciamiento, If I Were an American, a sequel to the Fulton speech of March 5, 1946, was printed in two issues of the New York *Times* and in *Life* magazine. Its total circulation must have come to twenty-odd million.

Such an audience, such an unprecedented build-up, tend to magnify the importance of published words—and even to make them sound true. In this case the illusion is heightened by the magnificent force and style of their presentation. But Americans, reading his self-confident assertions, should not be taken in. Winston Churchill has been repudiated as a leader by the British people. His foreign policy is being abandoned, step by step, by the Labor government. His reconstruction of his record in Greece is bristling with untruths.

It would be impossible to controvert in one short article the misstatements made by Mr. Churchill. But a few of them can be quickly answered.

1. *The Greek election.* Mr. Churchill refers somewhat complacently to "the custom and method of the English-speaking world" that "the ordinary, humble, common people should put their crosses on the ballot paper in secrecy and without obstruction or intimidation" and asserts that this method was applied last March in Greece. It is a fact that an international supervisory commission reported the Greek election to be "valid and fair." Undoubtedly the actual balloting was peaceful and obvious fraud was absent. But the respected Liberal statesman, Sophoulis, who was Prime Minister at the time, had urged that the elections be postponed because political conditions made a fair vote impossible. And a British Parliamentary committee, visiting Greece in August, quoted Liberal deputies as complaining that owing to "right-wing banditry" they had been unable to reach their constituencies during the campaign. A Liberal Cabinet member testified that he had been afraid to leave Athens before the plebiscite. The British committee reported that extremists on both sides were terrorizing the peaceful "85 per cent of the population"; it retold in circumstantial detail the old story of people arrested without charge and jailed or deported without trial, and of the thousands who had fled to the mountains to escape the terror. Since these conditions prevailed throughout the period of the elections, no balloting, however "fair" in itself, could possibly reflect the will of the "ordinary humble common people" of Greece.

2. *"The only free election."* According to Mr. Churchill, last spring's vote held "under the shield of Britain" was "probably the only free election that has ever taken place since ancient times in the Balkans." This claim is false and insulting to the Greeks. Has Mr. Churchill forgotten the election of 1920 when Venizelos lost power? The fact is, free elections were the rule throughout the inter-war period until the King came back in 1935 and presently installed the dictatorship of Metaxas with the full support of the British Conservative government.

3. *The Monarchy.* Said Mr. Churchill: "A Greek government . . . had been brought back to Athens by a few British troops and aircraft and their own scanty Greek forces as the Germans fled. . . . The King of the Hellenes and his brother . . . naturally wished to return at the head of this small expedition. British policy, long declared, had however been to seek a plebiscite on the Monarchist issue; and the King deferred to our wishes and awaited in London the decision of the Greek nation." A beautiful reconstruction! The Churchill policy was exactly the contrary. It was to *prevent* a plebiscite and bring back the king as quickly as possible. In August, 1943, more than a year before the British landing, a delegation representing every element in the resistance, joined by a representative of all the Greek parties, escaped to Cairo and requested the government in exile, then headed by Tsouderos, to transmit to the King a letter begging him to announce that he would not return to Greece until the people had decided upon the form of government. A special Cabinet meeting unanimously indorsed the demand; so the letter which reached the King had the backing of the Greek parties, the resistance movement and also the conservative government in exile. When he received the demand, King George, ill and indecisive, asked Mr. Churchill what he should do. The Prime Minister told him he should refuse.

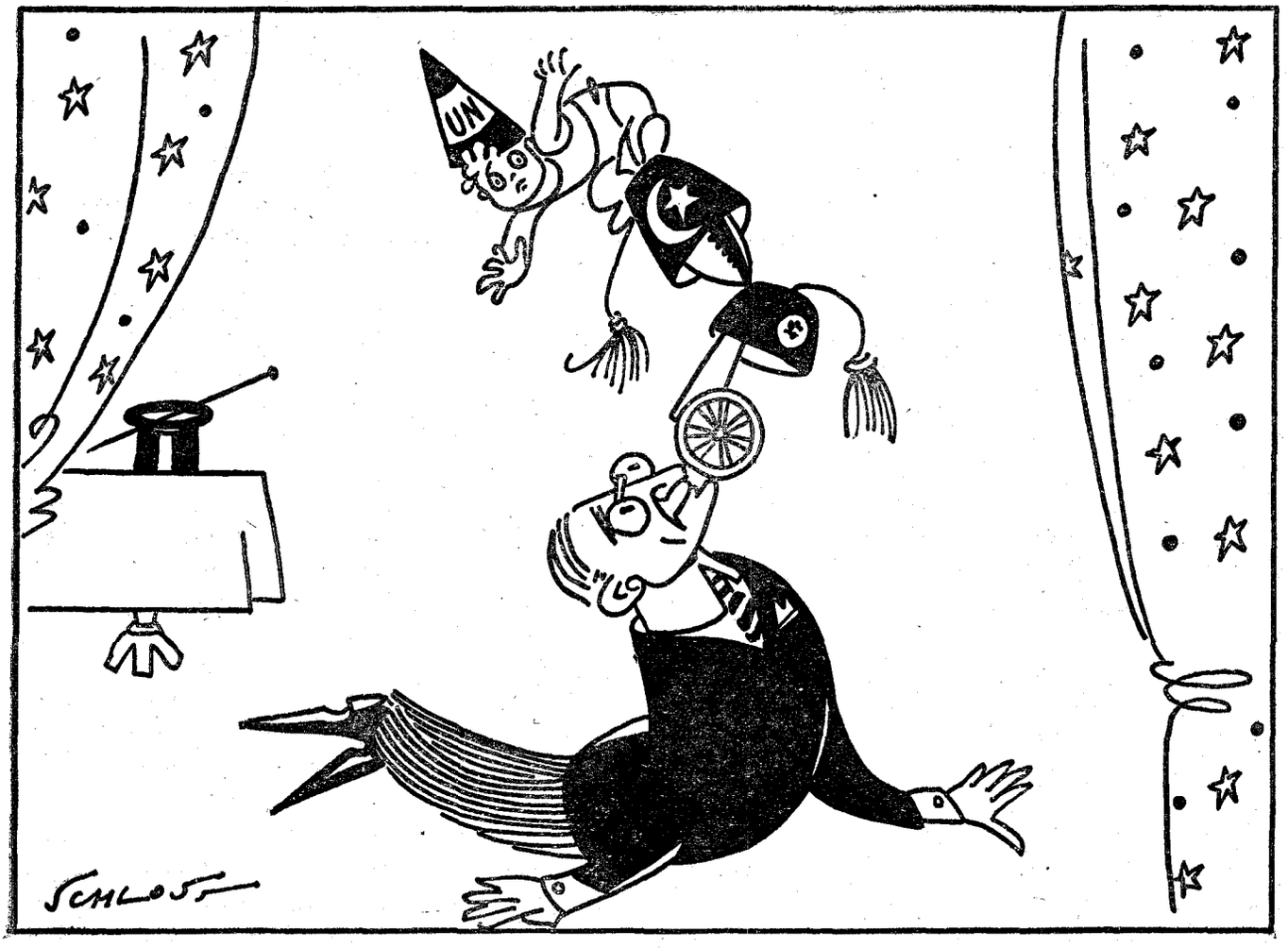
It was only after the army mutiny in Cairo in April, 1944, that the King was forced to issue a half-hearted declaration saying that he would not go back if the government thought he should not. No one who looks at the record can possibly doubt that the King would have been put on his throne by the British, without benefit of plebiscite, had it not been for the uprising in Athens later that year.

4. *The Rebellion.* Mr. Churchill charges that when the British landed in Greece, in October, 1944, "the Communist guerrilla bands, most of whom had done little or nothing against the German invaders . . . descended from the mountains, claiming to be the saviors of Greece, and also its rulers with totalitarian power. They infiltrated and forced their way into Athens . . . and began a violent murderous attack upon the police stations and other establishments of the newly arrived, feeble, distracted, all-party government." And much more. What really happened? *Nation* reporters on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spot, particularly Constantine Poulos, told the story in these pages. But a couple of facts are worth recalling. First, Mr. Churchill's attempt to write off the services of the guerrillas is beneath contempt. These forces, largely non-Communist, fought the Germans with incredible bravery and great losses, as was attested by American OSS parachutists behind the lines and by many British officers. Second, they made no claim to rule the country. Third, no attacks by any left forces began until after offers of peaceful compromise had been rejected on orders of the British. The guerrillas (E. L. A. S.) had agreed to lay down their arms provided rightist bands, including the royalist Mountain Brigade, trained by the British, and the Security Battalions, trained by the Germans, did the same. This was refused. The E. A. M. called for a mass demonstration in Athens. Permission for the demonstration was granted and then revoked, but the second order came too late. Thousands of unarmed Greeks gathered in Constitution Square and the police fired on them. "That was the spark," Poulos reported from Athens. "The E. A. M. forces in Athens and Piraeus set out to clean up the police, national guard, and other armed fascists." But even then the war could have been averted if the British had allowed their puppet premier, Papandreou, to resign, as he wished to do. The Liberal leader, Souphoulis, was actually forming a coalition Cabinet with the approval of the left when General Scobie ordered Papandreou to remain in office. Then the fighting began in earnest; it was at 2 a.m. the next morning that Mr. Churchill, as he says, "drafted a telegram to our General Scobie . . . that he must no longer [*sic!*] consider himself neutral between the Greek parties, but on the contrary should sustain Premier Papandreou, and not hesitate to fire on the Communist assailants."

The civil war we have inherited in Greece is definitely Mr. Churchill's war, and his warm indorsement of the Truman policy as nothing more than a continuation of his own is the most damaging attack the Administration has yet suffered. Cheerfully and without scruple, Mr. Churchill has knocked into a cocked hat the story built up in Washington over the past five weeks that our intervention in Greece is largely an altruistic enterprise, designed to accomplish what three years of British control have failed to do. In Britain and on the Continent, Henry Wallace is telling large audiences that our government, out of panic fear of communism, has embarked on a global course of military and dollar diplomacy. But none of his charges, no matter how



BALANCING ACT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vigorously expressed, can have quite the deadly effect of Winston Churchill's bland and approving restatement of the same point. Mr. Churchill says, in effect, "Henry Wallace is right; this is imperialism." Does the Administration accept the mantle the British war leader has laid on its shoulders? If not, it had better shake it off fast. Until it does, no repudiation of Henry Wallace will sound convincing to liberals, either here or in Europe.

Challenge to Business

IF THE OPA is permanently discontinued, the production of goods will mount rapidly, and through free competition prices will quickly adjust themselves to levels that consumers are willing to pay." So said the National Association of Manufacturers in full-page advertisements on July 3, 1946. Since then, the OPA has been discontinued and output has expanded rapidly. But the cost of living has jumped about 20 per cent in the same period, and as Simon Lesser shows in his article on page 442, resistance to price reduction and a steadily mounting volume of profits remain the dominant features of the business landscape.

When is the performance of industry going to match its promises? That, briefly, was the question posed by the President last week, and it is a question that demands a quick and satisfactory answer if this country is to avoid serious economic grief. Pointing out that the course of prices has been as he predicted when vetoing the first OPA Extension Act last June 29, Mr. Truman said that responsibility for preventing a crash now rests squarely on business. The government has been stripped of powers to deal with the price situation; it can only use "moral suasion" and it begins to look as if that will not be enough.

Yet it ought to be as clear to our great industrial leaders that their present course of action is not going to prevent a reduction of prices in the very near future. Consumers' resistance to prices is growing, not because of a conscious buyers' strike, but because their income is insufficient to take off the market the ever-greater flow of goods from the production lines. J. Roger Wallace, writing in the *Journal of Commerce* on March 29, demonstrated statistically that present national income is insufficient to support the prices asked for all the goods that are being produced. "A national income of approximately $224 billion rather than the present rate of around $185 billion would be necessary," he asserted, "to move the present industrial production into consumption at the present price level." In the face of this situation we are told by the same newspaper on April 11 that many cotton mills and converters "go so far as to sit on goods in preference to bringing prices down." In other words, unsold production in the textile industry, and in others as well, is being piled up in inventories. This state of affairs cannot long continue: either we will have an orderly reduction in prices to a level which enables current production to be absorbed in consumption, or our economy will be overtaken by a disorderly retreat of values accompanied by forced liquidation of inventories, slashed production schedules, unemployment, and widespread bankruptcies.

The longer business men wait to make the necessary adjustments, the harder they are likely to fall. A few have recognized this fact and given a commendable lead, but all too many, refusing to face the fact that they have to sacrifice some part of their present lush profits or risk going without profits at all, are unwilling to take the step that common sense dictates. For instance, the chiefs of the steel industry, which is believed to have enjoyed a record first quarter, profitwise, have said in the last few days that they cannot consider price changes so long as wage issues remain unsettled. Yet it is clear from the steel union's tactics that it is anxious to avoid a strike; almost certainly it would moderate its demands if the companies showed that they were willing to use part of their profits to cut prices and so insure the maintenance of capacity operations. On the other hand, if prices do not come down, wage increases, as President Truman has pointed out, will be fully justified.

Another example of stalling is the complaint of some business groups that they are inhibited from getting together to reduce prices by fear of the anti-trust laws. We are sorry to note that Mr. Truman dignified this red herring by referring it to the Department of Justice. As Attorney General Tom C. Clark observed, "The anti-trust laws do not interfere with voluntary price reductions." An agreement to reduce prices would not seem to offer a case for prosecution unless it represented a deliberate attempt to squeeze out competitors or unless it included an undertaking to freeze prices at the new level.

In any case, we cannot afford to wait for industry-wide agreements on NRA lines. They would take months to negotiate and are quite unnecessary. Prices in our largest and most typical industries are determined neither by outright agreements between competitors nor by the free play of market forces. They are the result, rather, of what is known as "price leadership." The pattern is set by the strongest units in the industry; when they alter their course, their fellows are usually quick to respond. Under these circumstances, responsibility for lowering prices rests particularly heavily on United States Steel, General Motors, General Electric, American Viscose, du Pont, Alcoa, and similar giants. By timely action they could do much to ward off the danger that our present boom will turn to bust, and if they fail to seize the opportunity, the country should hold them strictly to account.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will Business Bring Down Prices?

BY SIMON O. LESSER

Washington, April 14

IN RECENT weeks the President of the United States has felt compelled to warn business again and again of economic difficulties ahead if prices are not reduced. Despite the charge that this is a timid Administration, three government departments—Treasury, Commerce, and Agriculture—have spoken out to the same effect, as has Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Economic Council.

As summarized in the New York *Times*, the report of that council—the basis of last week's "seminar"—was a remarkably outspoken document. Calling attention to the growing probability of a recession, it noted the expansion of consumer credit, the shrinkage of war-time savings, which are being used to supplement current income, and the decline in the rate of current savings. Such "danger signals" warn that purchasing power and consumption are sagging in the face of rising production. To reestablish a balance, the council pointed out, either wages must be raised or prices must be reduced. It prefers the second alternative, since the benefits would be spread more widely. Profit figures cited in the report show that most industries have an ample margin for price reductions. The question is whether these reductions are to be made voluntarily, as the council hopes, or are to be precipitated by a collapsing market.

No real basis existed for expecting the natural play of economic forces to bring about price reductions as soon as this. It may be remembered that the Box Score I compiled for *The Nation* of January 18 predicted that price cuts on some items would do little more than counterbalance increases on others until about the middle of the year. Keith Hutchison has explained why casual readers of newspapers may have got a different impression: the significance of every favorable development on the price front has been exaggerated. Reduced prices for some luxury goods and clearances of such things as sport shirts have been heralded as the harbingers of general price slashing. This was careless and irresponsible journalism, or worse. The conservative press wanted the country—especially the workers—to believe that an early tumble of prices was due.

On the other hand, much of the comment addressed to business has been basically hortatory. The first message of the President under the Employment Act of 1946 was less a report than an appeal to business to reduce prices in order to stave off a recession and achieve industrial peace. So far the course of events has borne out the contention of Robert R. Nathan and others that it is unrealistic to expect business to display this amount of foresight and restraint. There is still time for business to act. But it cannot wait much longer. A lower level of prices is imperative if we are to consume the tremendous volume of goods now being produced. Each day's delay in reaching that lower level makes it less likely that the adjustments can be achieved without a business setback. That is the real menace of the continued firmness of prices.

Business men have been increasingly concerned about high prices, but unfortunately not sufficiently concerned to act. Everyone has wanted prices to come down—but preferably the other fellow's. Of the business men interviewed in *Fortune's* February management poll 44 per cent expected prices to fall, but only 15 per cent intended to reduce those of their own products. What business men hoped in particular was that farm prices would lead the downward adjustment. This would mean cheaper food and clothing and thus help to pacify labor. At the same time it would reduce business's raw-material costs and take some of the pressure off the demand for lower prices all along the line.

The argument for lower farm prices is based on the plausible hypothesis that since they have risen faster and farther than prices in general they should now decline until the former balance is restored. The need for cheaper wheat, cotton, and pork is undeniable. But there is nothing sacred about the balance between farm and non-farm prices which prevailed before the war. Throughout the twenties and thirties our farm population was impoverished. The low level of farm buying power was one of the basic causes of the depression of 1929 and of the slowness of the subsequent recovery. Farm prices must come down, but this necessity must not be permitted to obscure the need for cheaper manufactured goods also.

One reason why business men have maintained their own prices, even though they recognized the need for lower prices generally, is that they have tended to be more hopeful about prospects in their particular field than about the over-all business outlook. While this optimism is encouraging and makes their policy less inconsistent than might at first appear, it points up the fact that most business men see only one reason for reducing prices—to prevent a decline in their company's sales.

SIMON O. LESSER is a Washington economist formerly with the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The Nation *of January 18 carried an article by him called What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1947?*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Their unwillingness to act in the national interest at a time when they are fully cognizant of what should be done and well able to trim profit margins is the most discouraging feature of the present economic scene.

Were it not for the irresponsibility of certain influential business leaders, the chances of avoiding a recession this year could still be regarded as bright. It is still as certain as anything can be that farm prices will be lower, probably sharply lower, during the last half of this year. Though the world food situation is worse than was realized some months ago, many of the factors which accounted for the recent flurry in hogs and grains—severe weather, the box-car shortage, worry about domestic crop prospects—were transitory. There have been offsetting declines in other farm products, and even for those commodities which have soared, "futures" market quotations forecast lower prices later on.

With respect to manufactured goods the situation is better than it appears on the surface. The cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has declined slightly for two consecutive months. Wholesale prices of a wide variety of items—handbags, jewelry, handkerchiefs, toilet goods, cosmetics, and radios—have reached their peak and begun to come down. The W. T. Grant Company reports that since December lower prices have been quoted to its buyers on one-fourth of the 7,500 lines it carries. These reductions have not yet been fully reflected in retail prices.

The President's statements have increased the number and strengthened the hand of the business men who see the need for lower prices, and a civil war is flaring in the business community. It would be an oversimplification to say that the war is between manufacturers and retailers, but by and large the manufacturers are the ones who are resisting price adjustments. While the National Association of Manufacturers has again put itself on record as favoring lower prices, its recent statement, like the one of last December, seems less an appeal to its members than a warning against wage demands and an attempt to shift responsibility for the rises already witnessed. Most manufacturers can make a plausible case for postponing price reductions: raw-material costs are high and further wage demands are in the offing. But present profit margins permit reductions that would help keep wage demands within reason.

Retailers are already feeling the impact of consumer buying resistance and are well aware of the urgency of the situation. Long before Mr. Truman's latest warnings, such representative retailers as A. W. Hughes, president of the J. C. Penney Company, and Adam Gimbel, president of Saks Fifth Avenue, had stressed the importance of lower prices. Lew Hahn, president of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, was quick to indorse Mr. Truman's views. Jack I. Straus, president of the world's largest department store, R. H. Macy and Company, has urged in a press interview and a signed advertisement that manufacturers and retailers cooperate in an effort to bring prices down. Many other retailers and retail organizations are working vigorously to effect reductions.

The nation's lumber dealers and home builders, hardly noted as champions of the consumer, have begun to complain about high prices. They are afraid that the present huge demand for homes will fade away unless costs are reduced. And to the harassed builders and dealers the inflexibility of building-material prices represents not simply an economic threat but an ideological blow. They had convinced themselves that while prices might rise temporarily after the death of the OPA, they would promptly settle down again after their little fling.

In the manufacturing field the most conspicuous champion of lower prices has been the Ford Motor Company. Ford not only talked about the need but, as a " 'down payment' toward a continued high level of production and employment," actually lowered prices. Granted that the reductions were small and motivated in part by public-relations considerations, they were an important step in the right direction. The Ford price cuts are all the more commendable because Ford was less well situated to absorb them than manufacturers already producing at capacity and had less reason to fear a lessened demand.

Following the Ford lead, International Harvester announced substantial price reductions on a wide variety of its products. Like Ford, Harvester is untroubled at the moment by buyer resistance; its sales are running 50 per cent ahead of last year. It reduced prices in the belief that such a policy would benefit the nation and, in the long run, the company.

Other prominent manufacturers have announced modest price cuts. Many members of the business community, however, have let neither Presidential appeals nor competitors' actions disturb their serenity. General Motors thumbed its nose at young Henry Ford by promptly *raising* the prices of some of its models. It could get away with this because, as a low-cost producer, its prices were competitive even after the increases. The necessity of the adjustments, forcefully argued in a company statement, may be judged from the fact that General Motors shortly afterward raised its dividend. The company's earnings are estimated to be running at more than twice the new rate, and it is widely predicted in brokerage circles that the dividend will be increased again, or supplemented by an extra, before the year ends.

Lumber manufacturers reacted to the demand for lower prices in similar fashion. In February mill quotations on Northern hardwoods in all grades were advanced from 10 to 15 per cent. There is general agreement in the trade that lumber prices must and will fall by late spring, but meanwhile supplies of processed lumber are limited and demand is urgent. Buyers can be squeezed a little harder.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New York *Times* story which reported the price rise declared, "Manufacturers expressed amusement at yard threats to concentrate on substitute materials." How much longer, one wonders, will these boys be amused?

Unfortunately it is all too easy to point to businesses which in spite of lush profit margins ignore the need for lower prices. Several weeks ago the *Wall Street Journal* carried a front-page story which began, "The high cost of building threatens to make the 'great housing boom of 1947' just a might-have-been." In the same issue was the 1946 annual report of Sewell Avery's United States Gypsum Company: on a sales gain of less than one-third, profits had about tripled, rising from $3.18 to $9.91 per share of common stock.

As in the past each individual firm seems to feel compelled to act in its own interest rather than adopt policies serving the general good. Last year many companies doubled and tripled their 1945 earnings. Thus far this year profits are larger still. Many large corporations have been able to establish reserves against every possible contingency. Some merchandisers have reserves against inventory losses equal to more than one-fourth the value of present inventories. Such sums should certainly be ample to protect the individual firms against disaster—but if some of today's excessive profits were applied to price reductions, the disaster would be less likely to occur.

Time is running out. For several months now prices have been too high to permit us to buy all the goods pouring from our factories. Fortunately, the overflow has been needed to replenish inventories. But inventories have become approximately large enough. From now on, if we are going to keep factory wheels turning and employment up, the prices of goods will have to be brought into balance with purchasing power. If they are not voluntarily reduced, they will be forced down by a decline in demand. That kind of price correction will mean losses for business, unemployment for workers, and trouble for everyone.

Iraq: Black Gold and Poverty

BY ANDREW ROTH

Bagdad-Kirkuk, March 12

RICH as Iraq is in "black gold," having one of the largest and most easily exploitable oil fields in the world, the visitor is immediately struck by the people's bleak poverty. After broad-avenued Damascus, Bagdad is a shabby slum. Its dirty main street, lined with whining beggars, is somewhat mockingly named after Haroun al-Rashid, but there is little romance in the life of the citizens. Most of them are landless and live in mud hovels. The average wage is 30 cents a day, while prices are as high as in New York or London. A large majority have syphilis, and 95 per cent are illiterate.

During the past year many dramatic events have been staged against this sordid background: vociferous political parties have been born; striking oil workers have been shot; British troops have landed; and "new-style" elections have been held. Only a tiny minority of the population, however, have had roles in the drama—on one side a few feudal sheiks owning dozens of villages and tens of thousands of acres, the big city merchants, and the "old gang" politicians linked to both; on the other the newly articulate students, some progressive intellectuals, and the railway and oil workers.

ANDREW ROTH, on a roving commission for The Nation, *has been in the Middle East for the past six months. His next article will be from Teheran.*

While some of the extreme nationalists are ready to blame all Iraq's ills on "British imperialism," conditions were much worse before the British forces arrived thirty years ago. Under British control a good port, a railway system, roads, and airdromes have been built, and a moderately efficient police and civil service have been trained. The government has been centralized by imposing the Hashimite dynasty of King Feisal on the feudal sheiks and by the R. A. F.'s suppression of tribal uprisings. Of course the nationalists say that these benefits are merely by-products of Britain's need for oil and markets and for an effective but subservient ally on the Mediterranean–Persian Gulf air and land routes.

Iraq's independence has been recognized internationally since the end of the British mandate in 1932, but as late as last January even the Anglophile Premier Nouri Said described it as "conditional independence," that is, independence limited by the conditions of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty. By this treaty Britain was given air bases, facilities for moving troops and supplies, the right to supply the foreign military and civilian advisers and technicians required, joint control of the British-built Iraqi railways and port of Basra, and the right to move in troops if war threatened. The purpose of the treaty—to keep Iraq safely within the British sphere of influence—was nearly defeated by the machinations of the Nazis in the period 1933-39, but when a group of ultra-nationalist army officers under Rashid Ali tried to seize the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government in May, 1941, the British stepped in and remained firmly in the saddle throughout the war. Today the ruling Iraqi is Emir Abdul-Ilah, regent for the boy king, Feisal II.

Nouri Said, called the "Smuts of the Middle East," is the smartest of the "old gang," the men who served under and were paid by T. E. Lawrence in World War I and came to Iraq with King Feisal. Nouri has a genius for conjuring up schemes to advance British policy. He negotiated the Anglo-Iraqi treaty and the Saadabad pact and has pushed the Arab League. In 1943 he proposed the "Greater Syria" plan, which was to unite Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, and part of Palestine under the British puppet, King Abdullah of Transjordan, great-uncle of Iraq's monarch. As a result he is much in demand for Cabinet posts, the present Cabinet being the ninth he has headed and the twentieth or so in which he has served. His pro-British policy is strongly seconded by Foreign Minister Fadhil Jemali, who would like people to forget that he was pro-Nazi before the war.

The British occupy the key posts in the Iraqi economy. Recently when a Briton was appointed head of Basra's laundry department, the left-nationalist paper *Saut el Siasa* asked sarcastically whether the task was beyond the ability of an Iraqi. The British firm of Andrew Weir monopolizes the chief agricultural exports—dates and barley. An Englishman is Acting Controller of Currency and Exchange Control Director. Iraq's foreign trade is controlled in the interest of British exports. A contractor of my acquaintance was refused the requisite dollars to go to the United States to purchase road machinery and therefore had to buy from England. Many Iraqi merchants do not seek United States accounts for fear of being blacklisted by "the Embassy" and its friends in the government. Although Iraq's allocation of $14,000,000 from the London "dollar pool"—into which American payments for Iraqi exports are pumped—is quite generous, Iraq is encouraged to spend these dollars in countries like Sweden, Switzerland, and Canada which want dollars for their products but spend a large portion of them in England. The most recent statistics (January to September, 1946) show that Britain's exports to Iraq are fifteen times its imports from Iraq, while our exports are only six times our imports.

Since the war discontent has been stirring in the people, and progressives and students have demanded the political liberties promised by the Atlantic Charter and other expressions of Allied war aims. The Regent, believing that moderate reforms would block the development of Persian-style extremism, appointed as Premier Tewfik Suweidi, a man of wealth but of somewhat more modern views than most of the ruling clique. Suweidi abolished war-time security regulations restricting civil liberties and in April-May, 1946, allowed the formation of five "reasonable" (his word) political parties. He limited their activities, however, to Bagdad. One was the Premier's own Liberal Party, led largely by wealthy merchants. Another was the chauvinist Istiklai, or Independence Party, comprising many of the junior officials and army officers who had followed Rashid Ali. Three were progressive parties, alike in advocating free elections, evacuation of foreign troops, distribution of state, not private, lands, and an independent Arab state in Palestine, but differing somewhat in leadership and following. The pro-Communist National Liberation Party was not licensed.

The actual membership of the new progressive parties was only some thousands—their newspapers, like other Iraqi papers, had a maximum circulation of 3,000—but they were a nightmare to the Iraqi feudalists. At the end of May the Regent withdrew his support of Suweidi and replaced him with Arshed Umari, who suspended six journals in his first month in office.

Last summer political warfare, stimulated by Anglo-Soviet tension, was almost as hot as the broiling sun. In Bagdad a student was killed when police fired on a demonstration of the National Liberation Party urging the evacuation of British troops. But the shots that echoed around the world were those fired at the striking Kirkuk oil workers.

The Kirkuk field, one of the most valuable in the world, is worked by the Iraq Petroleum Company, which pays only eight shillings a ton in royalties to the Iraq government. The company is jointly owned by American, British, French, and Dutch concerns, but its top personnel is almost entirely British. Wages were good, for Iraq, but had not kept up with the rise in prices. Workers had to walk at least a mile in the hot sun from Kirkuk to the fields. There was a critical housing shortage because the number of workers had greatly increased and floods had washed away many of their mud hovels. The I. P. C.'s opposition to the formation of a union and its reluctance to grant demands until it could get word from the London office provided ammunition for a handful of Communists who were anxious to sharpen the militance of the workers in this strategic industry and to brand the company as "imperialist exploiters" in an area of sharp Anglo-Soviet friction. On July 3 all of the I. P. C.'s 4,000 workers struck. On July 14, when most of them had eaten up their slender reserves and were ready to return to work, gendarmes fired into a labor demonstration, killing eight men. Although the local governor was a former I. P. C. employee, there is no evidence that the company instigated the shooting. However, a British official formerly in the Indian C. I. D. is said to have declared: "The Iraqi police botched the job. In India they would have got the dozen men we wanted with twelve shots; here they fired three hundred rounds and didn't get any of the ringleaders."

LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Iraqi government and its British advisers, recognizing the danger in this incident—on the very same day 80,000 workers went on strike in the Anglo-Iranian oil fields in Abadan—rushed conciliators to the spot and induced the workers to go back to work by promising that conditions would be improved and that there would be no discrimination against the strike leaders. All the ringleaders were in fact soon fired on one pretext or another, but, partly under British government pressure, important concessions have been made. Wages have been raised from 16 to 75 per cent, a daily allowance of 20 cents for rent has been added, medical facilities have been extended, and plans have been made for 400 workers' houses when materials become available. My trip to Kirkuk convinced me that while labor relations have improved, the company and the cooperating local authorities have no intention of allowing anything but a company union.

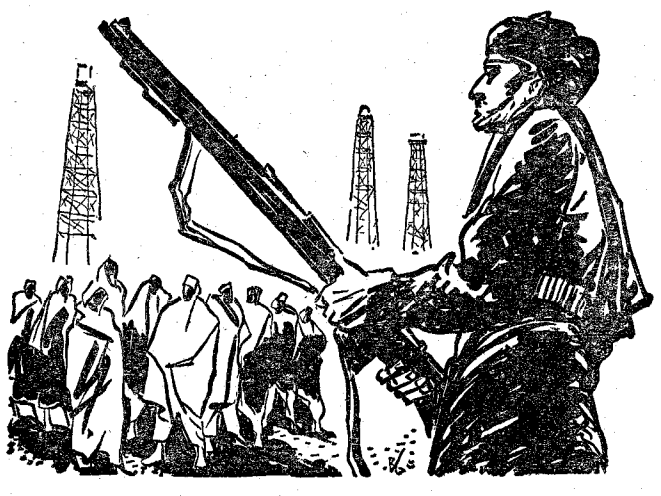
The Kirkuk shooting aroused tremendous indignation, but anger rose still higher in August when the British, to counter what they considered a threat to their Abadan fields, moved troops into the Iraqi port of Basra just across the border from Iran. The nationalist papers in Bagdad asserted that this was a violation of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, which allows reinforcements only in case of a threat of war. The papers were thereupon suppressed and their editors imprisoned. This provoked a printers' and railway workers' strike. Arrests were the order of the day.

When in London last fall, Foreign Minister Fadhil Jemali, according to a highly placed Iraqi source, boasted of these "anti-Communist measures" to Mr. Bevin. To his surprise Mr. Bevin suggested that blind repression was not the best way of fighting communism. When informed of this, the Regent, already made jittery by Premier Umari's erratic actions, called for his resignation and gave the post to the agile, experienced Nouri Said with instructions to hold elections.

If any proof were needed, the recent elections have demonstrated Nouri's amazing skill as a manipulator, in which he is equaled in the Middle East only by Persia's Premier Qavam. As a result of the government's victory, Iraq's parliament will be filled with the usual subservient merchant-landlord representatives, but the crudities of pre-war practices will have been avoided. In the past what were known as "telephone elections" were held. Parties were illegal, but the feudal sheiks and city merchants put up candidates. Then the night before the balloting the Minister of Interior's assistants called the provincial governors on the telephone and informed them, in cipher, which candidates were to win and by how many votes. Later, unless there was a mistake in deciphering, the figures ordered were announced as the electoral results.

As in Turkish times elections are indirect—that is, have two steps—and the political parties were much too weak to hope for more than a scattering of urban seats even in an unfettered election. But Nouri took no chances, although he wanted to preserve the outward trappings of "free elections." His first step was to break up the united front of the political parties which had been driven together by his predecessor's repressive measures. In November he split off the Liberals and National Democrats and persuaded their representatives to join his Cabinet on the promise of free elections and full scope for the political parties. Then he proceeded to suppress the extreme, underground left. Iraq has two sectarian Communist factions with a combined membership of about a thousand. Their immediate programs differ very little from those of the progressive parties, but they emphasize mass demonstrations and underground organization of the oil and railway workers, legal unions not being permitted. In mid-January the secret printing presses and over fifty leading figures in both organizations were seized. Apparently the police failed to uncover any Soviet connection because Nouri's best effort to discredit them has been to suggest that they were financed by the Zionists. Actually they have attacked Zionism as a creature of British imperialism and sponsored an Anti-Zionist League.

Even before the left was weakened by these arrests it was clear that all the legal parties were kept in a straitjacket by being banned from the provinces. At the end of December the Liberal and National Democratic ministers resigned from the Cabinet. In January the National Union and People's parties decided to boycott the elections because, instead of giving the parties full scope as promised, Premier Nouri had deftly passed the buck by saying it was up to the governors, who in turn said their police chiefs had to decide whether the opening of party branches was a "threat to security and order." Under this ingenious scheme even the conservative Liberal Party has been allowed only five branches in the seventy-one provinces.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor Coalition in Holland

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Hague, April 1

THE new Dutch Labor Party is one of the few really creative new political impulses upon the European continent. It represents a combination of the old Socialist Party, never strong in Holland, the left wing of the Protestant churches, and a few left-wing Catholics. It is at present in a coalition government with the Catholic Party, the opposition being the traditionally conservative Calvinist parties.

What is creative about the party is that it has healed in Holland the breach between Marxism and Christianity existing generally on the Continent. It consciously fashions its program, or at least its orientation, on the example of British Labor. Like the British party it is pragmatically rather than dogmatically Socialist. Socialism, in its view, is a political-economic program, not a religion or a cure-all for the ills of the world. It therefore disavows the position of Continental Marxism, which usually challenges not merely the economics of capitalism but the whole traditional Christian culture of the West. The party is as intent as British Labor to gain the support of the middle classes as well as of industrial labor.

Unlike the British party, which has always been quasi-Christian and quasi-Socialist but which has never represented an explicit alliance of church and labor leaders, the Dutch party has in its leadership some of the most prominent leftist churchmen, particularly those responsible for the missionary enterprise of the Dutch church. One of the new points of contact between labor and the church is, in fact, the affinity between the Socialist criticism of Indonesian imperialism and the conviction of the more advanced missionary leaders of the church that imperial support for the Christian missionary enterprise is wrong. The influence of the party has greatly contributed to the liberalism of the government's position on the Indonesian independence movement.

The Labor Party controls 29 of the 100 seats in the Dutch Parliament. That it should hold office in alliance with the Catholics, who have always polled 33 per cent of the votes in Holland, rather than with the old Christian anti-revolutionary party simply means that Catholicism, however conservative, has, as usual in Europe, a connection with political labor by way of the Catholic trade unions. The Calvinist party is, on the other hand, solidly bourgeois and has always mixed middle-class conservatism with Christian piety in the manner that justifies Karl Marx's acute observation: "The beginning of all criticism is the criticism of religion." Lutheranism in Europe has usually been as conservative but not so explicitly political. Dutch Calvinism, on the other hand, has been explicitly political in much the same fashion as Catholicism. The politics of Holland have been dominated for generations by these religiously oriented parties, partly because Holland is one of the least secularized of industrial nations.

The Christian leaders in the Labor Party were somewhat disappointed that they did not gain more seats in the first parliamentary election. The prestige of some of the churchmen, particularly of Dr. Henrik Kraemer, one of the most respected missionary leaders in the whole Protestant world, was so great that a larger number of the rank and file was expected to follow him. But that was a little too much to expect. Holland, like Switzerland and Sweden—and the United States—is a thoroughly bourgeois nation. Imperial wealth and the conservatism of the farmer are allied much as the farmers and big industry are allied in our Republican Party.

One might assume that in such a situation the conflict between the "Christian" right and the Socialist feeling of the Continent, which helped to destroy the social and cultural fabric of Europe and even now prevents either the social or the spiritual reconstruction of many European nations, would have been conducted here with particular acrimony. The new impulse which gave rise to the Labor Party is therefore the more remarkable and the more praiseworthy. While it is not likely that the party will ever be able to shake the solid middle-class conservatism of the Dutch agrarian, it has gained support in the impoverished middle-class life of the urban centers and bids fair to win the industrial classes completely. It may even in time be able to forge at least a working alliance with the labor wing of the Catholic Party, if the interests of the Catholic workers ever come into sharp conflict with the policy of the party.

The significance of this whole development lies in the fact that the rest of the Continent is unable to fashion stable non-Communist governments primarily because of the breach between the Marxist parties and the Christian right. All these Christian parties have a left wing which has more in common on economic issues with the Socialist Party than with its own. Usually, however, it is prevented by ecclesiastical authority from making common

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary and author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man," has been lecturing in Great Britain and on the Continent for the past several months.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cause with the Socialists. One of the disappointing developments in both the M. R. P. in France and the Christian Democrats in Italy is that various genuinely creative "lay Catholic" developments in these parties, growing out of the resistance movements, have come progressively under hierarchical domination. The clergy insist on making monopoly in religious instruction the dominant issue and thus spoil any possibility of a working alliance with the Socialists. Sometimes the Continental Socialists, unlike their Dutch brothers, also contribute to this impasse by a dogmatic secularism. If Europe should fail to achieve a stable economic or political life, ecclesiastical institutions, seeking to preserve their perquisites or even to restore medieval conditions, will have a high responsibility for the failure.

The Dutch Labor Party is not at all impressed with the present seemingly high living standard of the Dutch nation. It insists that living conditions are better in Holland than in Britain because Holland is not balancing its export-import budget. (Nor are the British for that matter.) Holland hopes to retain a large trade with the Indies, even if Indonesia gains complete independence; and it trusts its intensive agriculture for the usual surplus of eggs, dairy products, and vegetables. But there may not be as large a market for these exports in an impoverished Europe.

The Dutch party, with whose leaders I had the pleasure of meeting this week, is as concerned as any similar group in Europe that the Continent should not fall to communism. It is, however, fully aware that drawing a strategic line beyond which communism may not go in Western Europe will be of no avail if behind that line Western Europe does not regain economic and political health. It is grateful that American power is to remain in Europe and yet apprehensive about American power. Many party leaders were perturbed by Truman's Texas speech on "free enterprise," having assumed that that was the slogan of Republicanism. They wanted to know whether it was a kind of golden calf to which all parties had to make obeisance. They assured me that impoverished Europe required a managed economy and that unless we understood this, all our help would be vain.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

III. Big Jim of Alabama

Birmingham, Alabama, April 2

IN BIRMINGHAM there is a little factory, equipped with modern machinery, in which technology dictates the presence of many workers in one room. Some are white, some Negro. Each man does his job, and racial friction has never entered the shop. But human relations in the South are not so modern as the machinery in this factory. Convention, originating in bourbon days, demands segregation, and since the owners of the factory are not radicals, and do not want to be called radicals, they conform to the convention. To reconcile convention with technology they have made two big doors into the factory room. Over the top of one is inscribed "White" and over the other "Colored." The workers come in by different doors but once inside sit or stand side by side, just as they came along the street on the other side of the door. Thus convention and technology are both satisfied; if they were persons instead of abstractions, they would surely wear complacent if embarrassed smiles.

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," has spent the past several months making a new survey of the South. This is the third article of a series he is writing on current political and economic trends in various Southern states.

This is a minor manifestation of the clearly discernible changes which are being forced on the South as it passes through the stages of industrialization. To the unsolved problems of a primitive agricultural era are now added in Birmingham those of a relatively primitive industrial economy. How primitive can be judged by the fact that the average family income in Alabama in 1850 was $100 a year, and in 1938 it was only $130. Share-cropping, tenant farming, concentration on one crop, and uneconomical production methods persist, but are jumbled up with such innovations as mechanical cotton pickers, flame throwers, and harvesting combines. Consideration of the industrial worker's needs and productive capacity is retarded by the hold on Alabama of the two great monopolies, the United States Steel Corporation and the Commonwealth and Southern Power Company. With these undigested problems and relationships are intertwined the frustrated aspirations of a business class which would go into manufacturing but cannot while monopolistic restrictions prevail, and of an artisan class which would master technology but cannot while the South lacks training facilities.

Necessarily, this conglomeration of unsolved difficulties produces confusion, ill feeling, and misunderstanding. But the problems cannot be evaded, and because they are always present, a growing number of people here are beginning to see what it is they want, though

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they do not yet see clearly how they will get it. They visualize a future in which they will not only have the machinery of production but enjoy the fruits of that production. Alabama has marvelously rich ore and coal deposits. In Birmingham, the state's most important city, are some of the country's largest steel plants. Alabama needs bridges and highways, hospitals and schools. It cannot build them because it cannot afford to buy the steel which is produced from its own ore, coal, and flux. Alabama wants a greater volume of production usable in Alabama than has ever been dreamed of in the Pittsburgh offices of Big Steel or the Wall Street luncheon clubs where Commonwealth and Southern executives meet the partners of J. P. Morgan and Company.

The eagerness of the people of the South for more goods fails to delight the big corporations, for the good reason that the people cannot buy what they need unless prices are lowered through more efficient production methods and removal of artificial restraints. Also necessary is a wage system which provides a standard of living equal to that in the North. Only with such a wage system will it be possible for the worker to pay, directly or in taxes, for the houses, schools, hospitals he wants.

Waste of motion, waste of material, and waste of man-power characterize the production methods of the entire country. In the South the waste is worse because of archaic farming methods and primitive industrial mechanization. Some wastage is easily seen, and its elimination is demanded. But there is an equally costly invisible wastage due to rigging of prices by monopolies, to patent pools and freight rates which exclude men and women from economic opportunity, to control of money by an Eastern corporate aristocracy. In these is snarled the progress of the entire South.

On every side Southerners see pillaged forests, eroded lands, exhausted mines. This waste, being of the old era, balks change and explains much. Unless the people of Alabama can recapture control of their own destiny, the future is lost, along with their wonderful natural resources. For them it is anything but an academic question; the decision must be made quickly or fifty years from now Alabama and the South will be an impoverished agricultural wasteland. Labor leaders worry about it; middle-of-the road college groups study every aspect of the problem; patriotic and civic-minded aristocrats call it the paramount question. And with these vocal groups stand a great many of the three million people on the farms and in the cities of Alabama.

How else explain the fact that poll-tax Alabama, by electing John Sparkman to sit in the United States Senate with the able Lister Hill, has shown itself to be at present the most liberal state of the South? How else explain the popular vote for Governor Folsom, who, though he mugged through much of his campaign, kept insisting that he intended to carry on the New Deal as Governor Arnall had done in Georgia? There is promise in Alabama that private government by Vulcan will give way to government by the people.

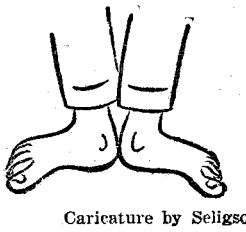
THE PEOPLE CHOOSE A GOVERNOR

Big Jim Folsom took the oath of office as Governor on January 20. Montgomery had not witnessed such a colorful scene since 10,000 people turned out to watch Jefferson Davis, in an open carriage drawn by six gray horses, ride through the city in 1861. Folsom had invited the people of the state to come to his inauguration, and 100,000 accepted. (The record vote in Alabama is only 300,000.) The Governor's reception, for obvious reasons, was held in an airplane hangar.

The new Governor, thirty-eight years old, a giant standing six feet eight inches, had got around to see the people during his campaign. He had traveled with a hill-billy band, the Strawberry Pickers, and had carried as stage props a corn-shuck mop and a suds bucket, with which he promised to sweep out the "Big Mules" (the big plantation owners of the Black Belt) and the monopolies. The people listened; at first because Folsom—with his background of working on WPA, sailing in the merchant marine, and serving as overdressed doorman in front of a big New York movie house was a good entertainer, and then because he told them about the things he wanted to do, things which seemed good and necessary.

Folsom had started out as a political nobody, and the important people, the heads of Birmingham corporations and the Big Mules, paid him little heed except to laugh at him as a mountebank. And then suddenly came the primary election and the big shock. The Big Mules were in danger.

Press and radio swung into action. In the country clubs and at the Hotel Tutweiler, where Birmingham's élite gather, the air was rank with rumor and slander: "Folsom is a drunkard," "Folsom can't resist a skirt," "Folsom can't read—I saw his record at school and he was kicked out because he flunked all his grades." Bankers, business men, rich farmers, all joined in the barrage to break down Folsom's public support. The noise was great, so great that it convinced the noisemakers that they were



Caricature by Seligson
Big Jim

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

carrying the day. The rank and file of the voters heard the noise, too, but it had a very different effect on them from what was intended. They had heard all that kind of talk before—about F. D. R., and from the very same voices. Disregarding the big press, employers' pressure, and plantation owners' coaxings, they made up their minds.

The voters considered Folsom's program for the future, not the scandal retailed about his past: a $40 monthly pension for the aged, an $1,800 a year minimum for teachers, hard-surface highways so that the small farmer could get his produce to market. They thought about his proposal for a constitutional convention designed to take the state government out of the hands of absentee corporations and quisling landlords and give it back to the people. They made up their minds as to the merit of his demand for an end to the poll tax, and for legislative reapportionment which would shear from the sparsely populated Black Belt, controlled by rich plantation owners, its voting preponderance over the industrial counties of northern Alabama. Their decision was determined by all these issues, plus the affection they had built up for Big Jim and his clowning. Folsom was in—by the largest majority ever given any candidate in Alabama.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The monopoly boys and their Big Mule henchmen took a bad shaking up, but they have not quit trying to keep their control of the state and they are not going to quit. The election results were no more than announced when they began their campaign for the Boswell amendment. There was just time to pass it, they estimated, before Folsom took office. To the dethroned overlords it was obvious that the election of Folsom and later of Senator Sparkman added up to an extension of democracy in Alabama, and as has happened often before in the South, a rearguard action was attempted. A traditional pattern was followed. The Boswell amendment was directed at the historic target, the Negro. He, at least, could be kept from enjoying the benefits of democracy.

White supremacy came on stage with a bang. The incumbent Governor, Chauncey Sparks, announced that Negroes and whites could live together peacefully and harmoniously only if "absolute segregation" were recognized as the "first essential of a workable racial society." He demanded the amendment to "prevent a flood of Negro registration."

It was also demanded by one of Folsom's supporters, a dubious character who proclaimed the sanctity of the Ku Klux Klan; whereupon the Governor-elect announced his opposition to the amendment and one of the big questions which were troubling Alabama's liberals was answered. There had been doubt about Folsom's sincerity, but on this issue he was forthright and quick, and his erstwhile K. K. K. friends jumped off his band-wagon and back into their sheets and hoods. To the voices of Klansmen was added that of former Governor Frank Dixon, now attorney for some of the biggest Northern-controlled interests. Dixon toured the state, speaking to the luncheon clubs and proving to every Kiwanis and Rotary member by a dramatic and exact mathematical calculation that if the Boswell amendment failed to pass the percentage of Negroes in the Legislature would be at least equal to the percentage of Negroes in the general population. He didn't say it "might" be; he stated this prospect as a certainty.

One of Alabama's leading attorneys characterizes the Boswell amendment as an "immoral action." This lawyer has never been a liberal on race questions. In fact, he has defended the registrars of several counties who have denied Negroes the right to register. Yet he said, "I couldn't take the Boswell amendment. It is set up to give the county registrar arbitrary power. It doesn't matter how severe we make the qualifications to vote, but once made we must register all those who can meet them." The amendment defines a voter as one having the ability to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." It also requires registrants to be "of good character" and to "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship." The catch is that the registrar, who is part of the political machine, is the sole judge of whether the applicant meets these tests. Obviously, first the Negroes would be denied the vote and then all but the favored whites.

The lawyer I have quoted became a leader in the fight against the amendment. He was joined by Folsom, Lister Hill, some of the largest newspapers, and all of labor. But the people of Alabama had reached the peak of their political excitement in the Folsom run-off and they did not turn out to defeat it. The amendment passed. That was a setback. It served warning on the new governor that though he might have won the battle for the governorship, the war for domination of the state was still undecided.

Big Jim was thinking of all this as he stood before the massed thousands on his inauguration day and said, "I believe in the kind of democracy that goes back to the branch heads and bush arbors. That's the kind of democracy that gives the average man and woman more to say about the way their government is run. That means we're going to get rid of worn-out restrictions on voting." And to the Big Mules and the power and steel overlords he threw a defiant challenge: "We're going to have cheap electric power all over Alabama. We're going to have it at every farmer's doorstep and in every factory. Those who own our natural resources—our ores, our coal, our river valleys—have got to use these resources for the development of our state. If our democracy is strong, it has to have a regeneration every now and then. . . . I am not afraid of too much democracy. I am afraid of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what happens to people when they have too little democracy." Thoughtfully the young Governor concluded, feeling the push and the throb of the huge crowd: "I want to be the best governor I can for you."

CAN BIG JIM HARNESS THE BIG MULES?

In his inaugural speech, Big Jim accepted all the implications of his fight against the monopolies. Fearing that Talmadge would establish himself as governor in neighboring Georgia and withdraw that state from the anti-trust suit which Governor Arnall had brought against the railroads, Big Jim made Alabama a party to the suit. Subsequently he announced that anti-trust actions would be filed against the "monopoly by which trade associations and corporations" have fixed the prices at which goods are sold throughout the state. The battle over the election laws, he said, was not yet over. The next round will be fought in the Legislature in May. Folsom's opponents, in full knowledge that not one member ran in support of his program, are relying on the Legislature to block his every move.

In this contest the experience and parliamentary skill of the Big Mules will count for much. The plan of the conservatives is clear. They will seek to capture the legislative committees and to bury in them the bills which must be passed if Big Jim is to carry out his program—that is, the proposals for a constitutional amendment, abolition of the poll tax, and reapportionment. Simultaneously, they will try to drive Big Jim into premature action on old-age pensions, teachers' wages, and improved highways—sections of his program which depend for financing on federal grants. They know that Senators Hill and Sparkman are in favor of these measures and will work like Trojans in Washington to see that federal support is granted. But the Big Mules and their corporation henchmen also have tried and true friends in Washington—among the Republicans. If the old coalition of Southern reactionaries and Republicans performs now, it will serve the reactionaries of Alabama on several fronts. Their hope is that with Folsom stymied in Alabama by the Legislature and Senators Hill and Sparkman blocked in Washington the two liberal Senators and the Governor will be discredited in the eyes of the public and their program killed.

Folsom, of course, understands what he is up against, but it is said that he fights like the longshoreman he resembles. The liberal South is watching the struggle, hoping for Folsom's success but at the same time wishing it knew more about him. Everywhere people are asking, "Is Folsom the real thing, or is he a carbon copy of the Huey Long who also put on colorful campaigns and talked to the people about their deepest needs?" In the South more than in most places campaign promises of social reform are not the same thing as a people's administration. Up to now all estimates are simply guesses based on what Big Jim himself has said, and that has been encouraging.

Inquest on the British Press

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, April 2

IN THE wake of a destructive gale there commonly follows a period in which the storm's victims, numbed by the stroke of elemental disaster, survey the wreckage impassively. In time they will muster their energies afresh to cope with the damage; but momentarily they find relief in busying themselves with pathetic little odds and ends—pruning an apple-tree which is the sole survivor of a wrecked orchard, dusting the china in a house stripped of half its roof. In time the Labor government will get doubtless around to taking realistic action in the present crisis, but momentarily the observer gets the impression that governmental departments are still suffering from the numbing effects of shock.

Sir Edwin Plowden, director of a large chemical corporation and chief executive in 1945-46 of the Ministry of Aircraft Production, has been appointed head of the promised Economic Planning Staff; but he will have no executive powers and will merely tender advice to the Cabinet. The Prime Minister's latest statement, forecasting a coal deficiency of ten million tons during the summer months and suggesting that this is to be made good by exhorting domestic consumers to save two and a half million tons and by imposing economies of seven and a half million tons more or less indiscriminately over the whole field of British industry, does not encourage hopes that the Cabinet is yet facing the real implication of planning—concentration of production in essential, efficient units, without undue regard for vested interests.

For the moment, in lieu of effective steps to cope with the crisis, the government has busied itself with a side issue: it has appointed the long-promised Royal Commission to investigate the British press. Formed six months after Parliament voted for a press inquiry, the Royal Commission is headed by Sir David Ross, sixty-nine-year-old provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's *London correspondent and a staff contributor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

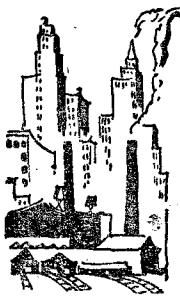
whose lectures on the philosophy of Aristotle your correspondent, in the dim days before World War I, learned much that he has now forgotten. The other members of the commission, including Mr. J. B. Priestley, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, and Mr. John Benstead, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, make up between them a fairly representative cross-section of the newspaper-reading public, but the commission is definitely weak in members with first-hand experience of Fleet Street. There are two ex-journalists on it—Sir George Waters, late editor of the Edinburgh *Scotsman,* and Mr. R. C. K. Ensor, formerly leader writer on the Manchester *Guardian*—but neither knows much of the modern commercialized press. The commission is enjoined to inquire into the control, management, and ownership of the press, including "the financial structure and monopolistic tendencies in control," and to make any recommendations which, in its opinion, will "further free expression of opinion through the press with the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of news."

That "monopolistic tendencies" exist is a proposition which the inquirers should have little difficulty in accepting. In the fifty years that have elapsed since Lord Northcliffe, then Alfred Harmsworth, founded the *Daily Mail,* the history of the popular, mass-circulation press in this country has been that of the growth of a relatively small number of dominant, highly capitalized press combines. Today the independent daily journals can be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. The *Times,* the Manchester *Guardian,* the Communist *Daily Worker* (which belongs to a cooperative society), the *Yorkshire Post,* the Glasgow *Herald,* and the Edinburgh *Scotsman* —this almost exhausts the list; and in the field of Sunday newspapers the independents consist only of the *Observer, Reynolds',* and the *News of the World.* The lion's share of the press belongs to a few large corporations. At their head, in terms of magnitude, is the group controlled by two brothers, Lords Kemsley and Camrose (formerly J. G. and W. E. Berry), who manage between them three national daily papers, four national Sunday papers, seventeen provincial daily and Sunday papers, and over ninety weekly periodicals. Next comes the Rothermere group, with the *Daily Mail, Sunday Dispatch,* and *Evening News* in London, together with ten provincial dailies and six provincial weeklies. Then there is the Beaverbrook group with the *Daily Express, Sunday Express,* and London *Evening Standard;* the Odhams group, publishers of the *Daily Herald,* the Sunday *People,* and twenty weekly periodicals; the Cadbury group with the *News Chronicle* and London (evening) *Star;* the tabloid *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial* group; the "Westminster Press," controlling twelve provincial daily papers, one provincial Sunday paper, and thirty provincial periodicals; and, finally, "Provincial Newspapers," publishers of four provincial dailies and ten provincial weeklies and periodicals. The aggregate sales of daily morning papers in this country are now close to sixteen million. Of this total, over fourteen million are products of the newspaper combines listed above.

The question which the commission may have greater difficulty in deciding is whether a press which has developed into a large-scale capitalist industry is a social menace. To what extent, if at all, do British newspapers fail, in fact, to provide "free expression of opinion with the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of news"? The commission will doubtless find ample evidence that the press is predominantly hostile to the government which happens to be in power today. It may find, too, that the commercialization of the press has led to undue dependence on advertisers in the sense that newspapers all want to give the impression that their readers are contented members of an acquisitive society whose chief interest in life is the purchase of branded goods. It may even find evidence to support the view that the tendency of the managements of mass-circulation newspaper groups has been to feed their readers on sensations and trivialities, with the result that the electorate is given very inadequate information on domestic or world affairs. But what is the answer to the argument, which the advocates of the status quo will advance, that a commercialized press exists to give the public what it wants, and that large circulations are a proof that the purchaser is satisfied? As for "truth" in the presentation of the news, even if practicing journalists are bold enough to testify to the issuing by managements of directives on the treatment of news, it would be difficult enough for the commission to find definite proof that news is deliberately distorted. And, in any event, at what point does the "angling" of news pass beyond the limits of reasonable objectivity? The commission will be up against Pilate's question.

The fact is that the British press, as it exists today, is the natural function of a predominantly capitalist society, and behaves as such. There is no obvious method of changing its character unless the government were to follow the example set by Czechoslovakia and pass a law making it illegal for a newspaper to be published except by a recognized political party or cultural association. From such a revolutionary remedy the present Royal Commission—whose membership, by and large, has a distinctly liberal tinge—will certainly shrink; nor is it likely to recommend any form of "trust-busting" along the lines of America's Sherman act. What it may do is to advocate the adoption of a system whereby the government of the day would be entitled—presumably on paper—to have one editorial column set aside in each daily paper for an official news hand-out. This would doubtless do something to promote the better political education of citizens, but it would not fundamentally alter the character of a press run by, and in the interest of, large-scale capitalist corporations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Bethlehem's Forgotten Men

READERS of *The Nation*, I am sure, will be surprised to learn that "management is the real forgotten man in the economy of the country today." However, I have this important news straight from the horse's mouth, from one of our best-known and most highly paid corporate executives—Eugene G. Grace, chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Mr. Grace, presiding at the corporation's annual meeting at Wilmington, Delaware, let fall this pregnant sentence in the course of a vigorous defense of an amended pension plan the chief effect of which will be to raise immensely the scale of retirement pay for the corporation's leading officers. It was necessary to increase managerial incentives in this way, he argued, in order to attract first-class ability, since high taxes precluded savings from salaries for old age.

In the course of his speech Mr. Grace developed the thesis that "there is no better way of appraising the worth of an employee than by the compensation paid him." This seems a questionable proposition, but, in any case, it could only be valid when an employee's compensation is objectively determined. The chief officers of Bethlehem Steel, however, also compose the Board of Directors, so that they are in the fortunate position of appraising their own worth. No one can say that they are hampered in this task by false modesty. Collectively the sixteen men listed in the corporation's proxy statement as "directors and/or officers" received in 1946 the sum of $2,209,744—an advance of $727,631 over their aggregate compensation in 1945. Being a "forgotten" manager certainly has its attractions.

On top of this, the new pension plan insures the better-paid executives of Bethlehem, including the directors, a more than comfortable old age. Hitherto the maximum pension payable has been $25,000: now, after forty years in the corporation's service employees can draw 40 per cent of their average annual compensation during the ten years preceding retirement with no ceiling whatsoever. Mr. Grace himself has waived all rights under the plan, but seven of his fellow-directors are now in line for pensions exceeding $40,000, with two of them entitled to well over $70,000.

With most proxies made out to the management, this plan was approved by a large majority of the stockholders. But the adverse vote was by no means insignificant and probably would have been larger but for the fact that the plan, in addition to removing the ceiling on pensions, also raised the minimum from $400 to $600.

At the meeting both the executive salary and pension payments were challenged by Lewis Gilbert of New York, who was unkind enough to make comparisons between the total paid to Bethlehem officers and directors and that received by the officers and directors of United States Steel—$706,123. Was it to be assumed, he asked, that the management of Bethlehem was worth three times as much as that of its big competitor? Mr. Grace was clearly incensed by this suggestion. Under his black, bushy eyebrows his pink cheeks took on a deeper hue. The comparison, he snapped, was quite unfair since Bethlehem's board, unlike that of United States Steel, was composed entirely of full-time working directors. We can, however, properly compare payments to the three chief executives in each company.

	Bethlehem	*U. S. Steel*
Chairman	$293,279	$106,700
President	239,399	154,800
Comptroller	170,520	107,000

Bethlehem Steel Corporation has 74,117 stockholders, of whom eight only, apart from men connected with the management, were present in person at the annual meeting. The most active part in the proceedings was taken by Lewis Gilbert, a young man of independent means who has earned the title of "minority stockholder No. 1" by attending numerous company meetings and pressing for greater measures of "corporate democracy." At the Bethlehem gathering Gilbert introduced two resolutions which he has frequently moved with varying degrees of success elsewhere. The object of the first was to change the locale of the annual meeting from Wilmington to New York; the second provided for a "reasonably complete and impartial account" of proceedings at the annual meeting to be sent to stockholders requesting it.

These seem moderate enough reforms, but they are important. The first would make it possible for a larger number of stockholders to take part in the annual meeting and to get acquainted with the men they employ to manage their property. The second would enable the vast majority of stockholders who cannot come to meetings under any circumstances to know what criticisms, if any, were made of management and how they were answered. An increasing number of important corporations, some under prodding by Mr. Gilbert and his friends, some simply from a good sense of public relations, have started to send reports to their stockholders. A few—General Mills is a notable example—have taken steps to facilitate attendance at annual meetings.

But too many managements are like that of Bethlehem. They take the view that stockholders should be neither seen nor heard, that their sole duty is to fill out their proxies. They don't want to encourage larger attendance at meetings by making them more accessible; after all, the insatiable curiosity of Mr. Gilbert and similar "agitators" might prove disconcertingly infectious. Similarly, reports of meetings, if "reasonably complete and impartial," would reveal the fact that proceedings were not always as smooth and automatic as management would desire and might stir up a dangerous increase of interest on the part of stockholders. The Bethlehem management claims that reports are unnecessary because the press always provides a full account of meetings. Having been present on April 8 at Wilmington and taken very full notes, I can testify that this is not so. The New York *Times* had a fairly adequate report, though it did not mention criticism of salaries. The *Wall Street Journal's* very brief story referred to the increase in minimum pensions but omitted all mention of the controversial features of the plan. From the stockholders' point of view, publicity of this kind is worthless, though it may suit Bethlehem's directors. They hate to be forgotten but they don't want to be too closely supervised.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

LAST month the State Department asked Congress to create and finance a public corporation to take charge of all international short-wave broadcasting in the United States. Since Assistant Secretary of State William Benton is now in actual control of all such short-wave programs, the proposed new set-up seems to many persons in the radio industry just another example of inept government action.

The plan to create the International Broadcasting Foundation of the United States is really part of the government's current effort to sell the idea of American democracy all over the globe. At the same time it foreshadows the end of international short-wave broadcasting by the domestic commercial radio industry for at least a generation, if not for good.

As defense against the propaganda broadcasts of the Axis transmitters at the beginning of the war, the United States set up the Office of War Information and the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Later it went on the offensive in the short-wave war with the formation of the Psychological Warfare Unit at SHAEF and the operation of ABSIE, the American Broadcasting Station in Europe. After V-E Day effective American short-wave broadcasting almost ceased. The only way to save it was for the State Department to take it over, and that is what happened.

Difficulties were encountered immediately. Writers, producers, and idea men, who had, as the saying goes, "cooked with gas" during the war, found themselves stymied by the hidebound conservatism of the State Department. Better salaries were available in commercial radio, and now that the war was won this talent shuttered its typewriters and moved on. The only consolation for the department was that the exodus lessened the chances of an international incident. The professional diplomats had never been able to explain to the professional radio men the double-talking technique of international diplomacy. In fact, the fear that something might be said at any moment which would cause trouble later was behind the State Department's desire to see a public corporation run our international broadcasts.

Today the State Department has thirty-six transmitters in the United States beaming programs in twenty-six languages. To the world these programs are the official voice of America. Frequently the State Department is made uneasy by having to put a thing "on the record" when every concept of diplomacy calls for innuendo and inference and refraining from definite statements as long as possible. It would prefer to have short-wave broadcasts handled by some outside agency under the eye of the diplomats. In that way trial balloons could be floated—and disowned if badly punctured.

Another reason why the State Department wishes to turn the short waves over to a separate agency is that it is leery of economy-minded Congressmen. At present its operation of international radio costs something over $5,000,000 a year. If Congress were to trim its budget, the short-wave unit would have to be cut. The proposed International Broadcasting Foundation would be less likely to suffer.

The foundation would be administered by a board of fifteen trustees appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Thirteen of the trustees would be "distinguished" private citizens serving without salary; the Secretary of State would be the fourteenth member, and a director at $15,000 a year would complete the board. It would be financed by Congressional appropriations, although the proposed charter permits the sale of time and the acceptance of contributions. By virtue of its non-civil service status the I. B. F. would not be limited by government salary ceilings in buying talent.

The I. B. F. would have full control and use of the international wave lengths. Today fifty such wave lengths are in use, most of which were preempted during the war. Before the war we had only nineteen short-wave signals, and after the International Communications Conference next month we shall undoubtedly wind up with fewer than the fifty-six now used and possibly with no more than the original nineteen. The result will be more crowding in an already crowded operation. For this reason the Federal Communications Commission has said it would transfer control to the I. B. F.

For this reason, too, the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation and some of the more reactionary elements in the radio industry have attacked the plan. They also object to a clause in the I. B. F. proposal which permits "a group or organization owning international broadcasting facilities the use of I. B. F. international frequencies provided that the programs of such group are in the public interest with regard to the foreign policy of the United States."

Commercial operators generally are not complaining about the government's running the short-wave end of the business. The war smashed their dream that American advertisers would soon be sending their network programs over world-wide networks using the short-wave stations of the commercial broadcasters. With United States manufacturers either operating their own plants overseas or working closely with cartel partners, the dream might have been realized. But today manufacturing facilities abroad are in many instances ruined or inoperative, and even the radio sets that could hear these programs are few in number and in poor condition.

Then, too, the war taught the commercial radio men just how expensive international short-wave broadcasting is. These business men would rather see the government run it than put their own money into it with the world so unsettled.

World Wide, the only short-wave broadcaster to protest against the proposed I. B. F., is the only one with sufficient funds to operate without a government subsidy. These funds, in the form of a foundation, kept the organization in the van of international short-wave broadcasters before the war. Today, presumably, World Wide would rather maintain its competitive lead than give the United States the international voice it requires. This in turn raises the question, as yet unanswered, of what sort of foundation is supporting World Wide and what is the original source of its funds.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Shorter Toynbee

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgment of Volumes I–VI in One Volume. By D. C. Somervell. Oxford University Press. $5.

BY UNIVERSAL history I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, and is not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul"—so wrote Lord Acton. Other historians have suggested that the study of history may elicit dependable knowledge which can be used for guidance in the proper conceiving and successful solution of contemporary problems. Toynbee's "Study" is, in its synoptic view of the whole, an illumination of the soul, and in its comparisons between Western history and the histories of other societies it does elicit such knowledge. Professor M. M. Postan, in a review of the original six volumes, wrote that "Toynbee possesses the gifts of a truly great encyclopedist, for he is capable of holding and giving out essential information while pursuing an argument. . . . What is important is that for the first time the essentials of modern knowledge in every imaginable field of history and archaeology have been set out by a man capable of comprehending and handling them." What is more important is that what is known of history is so interpreted and presented by Toynbee as to be an illumination of the soul.

The first three volumes of the work were published in 1934, the second three in 1939, and the third three volumes will probably not appear before 1950. During these years "A Study of History" has established itself as the most important work of the century not only in history but also in sociology and philosophy and religion. Those scholars and general readers who are anxious to understand their fields of interest, and not merely to accumulate facts about them, have read the 3,500 pages of the six volumes with pleasure and profit; but many general readers have been unable to afford either the price of these volumes or the time required to read them. To these, the excellent abridgment by Mr. Somervell will be a boon, for the "Study" is of the sort that lends itself readily to abridgment without loss of the significance of the general argument.

The method of the "Study" is, throughout, empirical and comparative: no conclusion is drawn, no concept formulated, and no "law" derived until after a survey of the relevant facts has been made. Some of the facts and illustrations are worked out in great detail, and some of the comparisons are pursued to considerable length; hence the task of shortening the book is simply that of reducing the number of illustrations and the detail of their exposition while preserving the argument intact. Mr. Somervell has performed this task admirably, and the abridgment will consequently be a boon not only to the hurried general reader but also to the scholar who wants and needs an epitome of the larger work. The abridgment "presents an original of over 3,000 pages in 565," and the one volume includes an abridgment of the abridgment in 25 pages; it includes also four tables from the original work and a fifth table that "gives a bird's-eye view of the whole field of the first six volumes" (the fifth table is included in the British edition of the abridgment but is missing from the eight copies of the New York edition this reviewer has seen), and an excellent index. Mr. Somervell writes in a prefatory Note: "I should be very sorry if [the abridgment] came to be regarded as an entirely satisfactory substitute for the original work. For 'business purposes' it is perhaps an adequate substitute: for pleasure surely not; for a large part of the charm of the original resides in the leisured amplitude of its illustrations. Only the big book, one feels, is aesthetically worthy of the bigness of its subject. I have been able to use to such a large extent the actual sentences and paragraphs of the original that I have no fear that this abridgment will be found dull, but I am equally certain that the original will be found much more entrancing."

Toynbee's method is empirical and comparative; more specifically, it is to "search for an intelligible field of historical study independent of the local and temporary standpoints and activities of historians"; he finds that these intelligible fields "are societies which have a greater extension, in both Space and Time, than any political communities"—that is, civilizations. Investigation shows that there are in existence today five such civilizations: our own Western, the Orthodox Christian society in Southeastern Europe and Russia, the Islamic society, the Hindu, and the Far Eastern. Further investigation shows that, altogether, there have been and are twenty-one civilizations and that the earliest of these came into being not more than six thousand years ago. The members of Western civilization are accustomed to regard it as the consummation of human history and as synonymous with Civilization itself; but there is evidence in plenty that the members of all the other civilizations have regarded their own society in the same light. This suggests the likelihood that the conception of any one civilization as synonymous with Civilization is founded on the egocentric illusion by which a man regards himself—or his society—as the hub of the universe. Further, an unprejudiced analysis and appraisal of the ethos and achievements of each of the civilizations support the conclusion that it is proper to speak, as Toynbee does, of the "philosophical equivalence" of all civilizations. This conclusion, taken together with the earlier conclusion that the history of no political community or nation is intelligible in itself, should do much, for thinking men, to dispel the nationalistic illusions of contemporary power politics—and politicians. Thus, the "Study of History," in addition to being an illumination of the soul, presents and establishes ideas that are more critically needed now than at any earlier time in the history of Western society.

Societies are fields of action of human beings, are relations between them, and from another viewpoint they are intelligible fields of study; so defined, "society" is a genus comprising two

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

species—civilizations and primitive societies; civilizations differ quantitatively from primitive societies in that the former are far less numerous and far more extensive; qualitatively, in that in the former mimesis (the imitation by the majority of the social attitudes and assets of the creative few) is directed forward and they are in process of dynamic growth while the latter are static because mimesis is directed backward. By definition, the sources of social action cannot be the society but can only be some or one of the individuals "whose fields of action constitute a society."

Toynbee has discovered that the histories of the twenty-one civilizations so far have followed the same pattern, and his notice of this fact has led some superficial readers to classify him with certain "deterministic" and "cyclic" historians. This is complete error. Toynbee fully recognizes the creativity of individuals and of societies in response to challenges, and he urges the consideration that, since the period of civilizations on earth covers only 2 per cent of the lifetime of mankind, and since, on the same time scale, many more civilizations may reasonably be expected to appear, the courses of the histories of future societies cannot be predicted.

Toynbee's conception and analysis and exposition of the ideas of growth, of challenge and response, of breakdown and disintegration, of withdrawal and return are, each of them, of sufficient importance and excellence to merit serious study; his presentation is as "entrancing" as Mr. Somervell suggests it is. If readers of this review have time for only one book during this year—and the next and the next—Somervell's abridgment of Toynbee's "Study of History" should be that book.

E. D. MYERS

Two French Novels

JOY. By George Bernanos. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

WOMAN OF THE PHARISEES. By François Mauriac. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

THESE two books are exceptional, both for their literary qualities—of quite opposite sorts—and for their saturation in the consciousness and acceptance of a spiritual context for man which, considering the level of the author's concern, arrestingly extends the meaning of such terms as moral standards, the super ego, conscience, and the like. The force and authority of neither writer spring entirely from this recognition. Backgrounds in which religious ritual and ecclesiastical personnel are almost natural elements are familiar enough in French novels, but neither Mauriac nor Bernanos is a Catholic apologist; both are sophisticated psychologically and fearless religiously, and what they therefore essentially communicate is that God triumphs over the church, and man's direct relations with Him transcend its intermediation.

"Woman of the Pharisees" is the more straightforward novel, in structure and language. It tells, in the main, the story of a moral perfectionist who takes it upon herself to interpret God's will to as many of His children as come within her orbit; who in the process of her self-conscious pursuit of the abstract courses of justice and truth poisons the lives of all about her, and her own as well, but who is saved, after a crisis of remorse and loss of assurance, by the love for another human being which leads her at last to the true love of God. So summarized, this seems a rather heavy and sanctimonious conception; it escapes being that by its honesty, its irony, its compassion, and the skill of its narration. It is narrow but universal, interesting if not exciting, thoughtful without being profound, and written, this somehow "old-fashioned" novel of values, in the most admirably easy and colloquial of styles; Gerard Hopkins, the translator, has kindly and ably made himself transparent for the occasion.

"Joy" is a work of a different order, more subtle, more oblique, more intense, more immersed in a kind of spiritual poetry, and though apparently written before "The Diary of a Country Priest" it goes far beyond it into regions of the soul at once pure and opaque, requiring of its readers "patience exquisite" for the violence of its intangibles. Briefly, Bernanos tells of a pious young French girl who apparently experiences the presence of God in the manner of saints, and whose soul is caught up in Him, as it were, long before she meets her untimely and undeserved but only possible end—the astonishing young martyr is killed by the depraved Russian chauffeur who has been the first to perceive the cast of her spirit and hurries her to her God, and himself perhaps to his devil. Before her death, however, she has thrown an entire household, which already numbers several persons inhabiting only the borders of rationality, into a turmoil for which they are unable to account. Indeed, it is not altogether easy to see why sanctity, simplicity, and humility, even if of such mysterious persuasion, should quite so frenziedly distract the unsanctified. This engagement of Bernanos's with mysticism is too often baffling and elusive to the point of irritation, but it is marvelously written in a dazzling, rich, even overburdened language which makes possible a special kind of expressiveness. For this is a special kind of book, a dramatic poem of religion that quite naturally encompasses an enormous mass of experience of the world. Though it has less humanity and much less accessibility than "The Diary of a Country Priest," it is perhaps more brilliant, dense, and variously rewarding. It is no book for anyone whose imagination, for instance, would not permit sympathy with the retreat into insanity of a priest who had lost his faith but not left the church. Or perhaps it is.

Here, too, grateful mention must be made of Louise Varèse for what must surely have been one of the most exacting translating jobs of our time.

GERTRUDE BUCKMAN

An Old Quarrel

SOIL AND STEEL. By P. Alston Waring and Clinton S. Golden. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE cleavage between farmers and industrial workers has never been more apparent or more distressing in its effects than in the months since V-J Day. Misled by constant anti-labor propaganda in the rural press, country people as a whole have been highly critical of the unions and have blamed the inevitable shortages and high prices of the post-war period on strikes and high wages. The powerful farm lobby, notably the Grange and the National Farm Bureau, has backed big business in the drive for a revision of our labor laws. City workers, on the other hand, blame

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the farmers for the removal of price ceilings and the high cost of living.

Recognizing the seriousness of this cleavage, Alston Waring, a Pennsylvania farmer, and Clinton S. Golden, nationally known leader of the United Steelworkers of America, C. I. O., have collaborated in a thoughtful exploration of the possibilities of bringing about greater unity of viewpoint and action between these two great productive groups in American society. They do not attempt to gloss over the very real differences which tend to divide the groups. But they are convinced that the misunderstandings are due largely to the fact that city workers and farmers rarely know each other as persons. Because of this lack of contact, business interests have encountered little difficulty in stirring up anti-labor feeling in rural areas. The authors tell, for example, how the United States Steel Corporation and the American Iron and Steel Institute placed "canned" stories and editorials with the news agencies serving the rural press and at the same time purchased huge advertisements presenting the company's side of the steel strike in several hundred selected rural papers.

Despite this fabricated hostility, the authors find many factors which are tending to break down farm-city misunderstanding. And they describe several "techniques for unity" which hold promise of bringing urban and rural viewpoints much closer to each other. Chief among these is the cooperative movement, which by emphasizing the consumer approach to modern living provides "a tool for the welding of the interests of otherwise widely separated groups." The authors also see in the TVA and in community organizations of both workers and farmers bridges to a broader point of view. Another bond is found in the common democratic requirements of both groups—economic security, self-respect, and dignity, a democratic education for all their children, and participation of all citizens in the shaping of governmental policies. It is difficult to see how any reader who is genuinely interested in the building of a dynamic democracy in America can fail to find encouragement in this book; but it is the encouragement provided by a goal worth striving for rather than by a triumph already won.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

An Unconvincing Genius

THE MIND AND DEATH OF A GENIUS. By David Abrahamsen, M. D. Columbia University Press. $3.

IT WOULD seem virtually impossible that a study of a Jew of violently anti-Semitic opinions, a misogynist with the most powerful biological drives, a sadist, masochist, hysteric, and a suicide at the age of twenty-three, could be anything but thoroughly absorbing; yet with such material Dr. Abrahamsen, in his book on Otto Weininger, has produced a document which falls somewhere between a case history and an insufficiently documented biography.

During his short lifetime Weininger published one book, "Geschlect und Charakter" ("Sex and Character"), a psychological and philosophical work which attracted little attention until he

CASE NO. 835

The girl who dug her mother's grave

NAME: Rozia Mehlsack. AGE: 11 years. BIRTHPLACE: Poland. FACTS OF CASE: When father was deported by the Nazis, mother and child hid in forests. Mother sickened and died; child stayed with body a few days, then dug a grave and buried it. PRESENT STATUS: In our orphans' home at Bellevue, France. Physical condition good, but child weeps continually.

this child was "lucky"!

ONLY 1 IN 10 IS LEFT ALIVE!

Of a million and a half Jewish children in Europe before the war, only 150,000 remain alive today . . . one in ten! During the war our organization saved thousands of these, hid them from the Nazis, brought them after liberation to one of our 11 orphans' homes in Europe. Many had never tasted meat or sugar; a slice of bread was a wonderful treat. New cases occur every day. More help . . . more homes . . . more care is needed for these luckless, hurt, grieving children!

HOW YOU CAN HELP – NOW

Underground workers died to keep these remnants of Judaism alive during the war. Now, only money —*more money*—is needed. Your gift will help substantially! And every penny you send goes directly overseas for the care of these children. Can you rest until you have helped? Give . . . *please* . . . as generously as you can afford . . . *today.*

$5	Supports an Orphan	FIVE DAYS
$10		TEN DAYS
$30		ONE MONTH
$300		A FULL YEAR*

**Constitutes "adoption" of a child. Case-history, picture and address are sent to the donor, who may communicate with and personally help the child. For fuller information, use the coupon below.*

FOSTER PARENTS

division of the Labor Zionist Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation, Inc.
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y. Telephone: GRamercy 5-0701

Foster Parents Division, Labor Zionist Committee
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y.

☐ I enclose $..... to be sent to the aid of the orphans in your institutions.

☐ Please send me fuller information regarding "adoption" of an orphan.

.....
(Name)

.....
(Address)

Contributions are deductible for income-tax purposes.

N-19

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shot himself in the room where, seventy-six years earlier, Beethoven had died. This act stimulated considerable interest in the book, which aroused almost universal distaste by its unbridled attacks on women and Jews. But August Strindberg, to whom Weininger's misogyny was sympathetic, wrote to him after reading the book: "To be able at last to see the solution of the problem of woman is a great relief to me. Therefore please accept my reverence and my thanks." There were others to whom the book's strong anti-Semitism made an appeal.

The weakness of Dr. Abrahamsen's book lies in his failure to prove that his protagonist, with his warped mind and repugnant precepts, really was a genius. Freud describes Weininger as "a personality with a touch of genius," but writes of "Sex and Character" as a "rotten book," and accuses Weininger of plagiarizing the central theme of the book—universal bisexuality—from him. He also says of Weininger that he was completely swayed by "his infantile complexes, and from that standpoint what is common to Jews and women is their relation to the castration complex." Such complexes do not necessarily preclude a man from being a genius, but to proclaim him one is to assume a heavy burden of proof, a burden which —to the reader unfamiliar with Weininger's work—Dr. Abrahamsen seems somewhat to have shirked.

ANTHONY BOWER

The Court and the People

LIONS UNDER THE THRONE. By Charles P. Curtis, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

THE Supreme Court still makes headlines when it deals with John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, and it was a first-rate scandal when Justice Jackson publicly attacked Justice Black, but few people are concerned today with the basic question of the position of the court in American government which seemed so tremendously important ten years ago.

If "Lions Under the Throne" had been published in 1937, it would have been bitterly attacked and eagerly quoted. Today it seems urbane, scholarly, judicious. Nevertheless, it is an effective reminder that the Supreme Court represents anomaly and compromise in American theories of democracy.

Whether or not the framers of the Constitution meant to give the court the veto power which Chief Justice Marshall seized for it, they unquestionably had misgivings about democracy sans checkrein, and the court's authority was apparently an ideal check. There is little doubt that today an overwhelming majority of United States citizens still approve the fact that actions of their elected representatives can be nullified by nine middle-aged or elderly men.

Mr. Curtis recognizes and states explicitly that the institution of the Supreme Court is undemocratic, and that it now rarely acts even as a court of law, in the usual sense. The nine justices seldom concern themselves with a court's normal business of settling specific cases unless a principle of constitutionality is involved. But their right to pass on legislation has been virtually unchallenged, even by President Roosevelt. Criticism has arisen only when it has seemed to some people that the justices were reading their own social and economic theories into the Constitution.

So long as the people want it that way, there is no great harm. This beautifully written and witty study of the Supreme Court points out that the court can, under the exact terms of the Constitution, be overruled by Congress and the people. The author then quotes Francis Bacon: "Let judges also remember that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides. Let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne"—in our case, lions under the Republic. In practice, the court has saved its position by changing with the times.

At a time when the United States is proposing to export democracy all over the world, this examination of how democracy works in the United States deserves the most careful attention. It is effective proof that democracy is still growing and changing, and may take a variety of forms. The book is also delightful reading.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Wanted: Politics to Match

ECONOMIC POLICY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. By Alvin Hansen. Whittlesey House. $4.

A READING of this volume suggests that advocates of expansionary economics ought to hold an annual conference to decide the best means for attaining the common goal. Professor Hansen does not hesitate to take his colleagues to task for alleged errors of judgment. John Pierson, Henry Simons, Frank Graham, Abba Lerner, Friedrich Hayek, and George Terborgh—friends and enemies—are given sharp academic scoldings. But they merit censure, for they have either been enthralled by capitalism's ancient glories or been much too bold with new panaceas.

Professor Hansen's own program is, as must be well known by now, a sane, balanced effort to place sturdy crutches

Next Week in *The Nation's*

Spring Book Number

Some Notes on D. H. Lawrence by W. H. AUDEN

REVIEWS

JUSTIN O'BRIEN: "Three Short Novels" by Vercors and "The Republic of Silence" edited by A. J. Liebling

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH: "Hannah More and Her Circle" by Mary Alden Hopkins

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.: "Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams"

RUSTEM VAMBERY: "The Nürnberg Case" by Robert Jackson

M. W. FODOR: "The Bright Passage" by Maurice Hindus

ELEANOR CLARK: "Fyodor Dostoevski" by J. A. T. Lloyd

P. ALSTON WARING: "The Wallaces of Iowa" by Russell Lord

"Bathsheba's Lament in the Garden," a poem by ROBERT LOWELL

Music by B. H. HAGGIN Films by JAMES AGEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under the arms of an arteriosclerotic economy. He wants a "high-consumption" system, one in which compensatory taxation, government-sponsored housing, an adequate health and nutrition program, and sound debt management will keep the precarious balance between volatile economic elements.

No one, I am sure, questions the need for this kind of rationality. But one can raise the question whether existing political drives are fully compatible with such programs. An economic system in which monopoly and maldistribution of income are dominant features is not easily altered, and no amount of economic analysis will do the job. The economics of full employment would itself have to be bolstered by a politics of full employment.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE WHOLE WORLD OVER" (Biltmore Theater) is a play of life in Moscow after the war. On the surface—which is where most of it seems to be—it is an amiable, rather obvious farce-comedy full of rowdy high spirits and wholesome moral sentiments. But since its author is that Konstantine Simonov who has been taking a leading part in the most recent propaganda in favor of propaganda, we critics are not to be wondered at if we sniff doubtfully and suspect a rat which ought to be there even if it isn't. I shall therefore proceed cautiously, and after describing briefly what goes on at the Biltmore let my readers in on my own darkest suspicions.

Just what it is that is the same the whole world over I am not quite sure. It may be the housing shortage, which serves in the play to bring together the dramatis personae who would not otherwise have met; it may be the desire to return to the pleasures of peace after years of war; or it may be merely love of the simple boy-meets-girl variety, of which the author seems to think surprisingly well. In any event, the story concerns a female engineering student mourning her lost fiancé who meets a Colonel mourning his lost wife and who gets him for her own just before the final curtain—thanks largely to the aid of her distinguished father, whose machinations extricate her from an imminent marriage of convenience to which she had allowed herself to become committed.

In more than one respect both the general conception and the dramaturgical conduct of "The Whole World Over" rather suggest one of those American works now to be found only in French's "Select Plays" and marked "suitable for amateurs." It evolves, that is to say, through a series of standard situations which do seem to be the same the whole world over, and it is replete with sound sentiment as well as unmistakable humor. Russian literature used to be praised for its "elemental" quality, but a good deal of the relatively little Soviet writing I have seen seems to be rather less elemental than elementary, and that is not quite the same thing.

On the other hand, it would be churlish not to admit that Uta Hagen as the heroine and Joseph Buloff as the eccentric father make the most of a certain disarming geniality and naive charm which the writing exhibits or, what is more important, that there are occasional moments when genuine emotion breaks through. War weariness, nostalgia, and a certain pathetic eagerness to clutch at anything which indicates a revival of normal life are now and then suggested poignantly enough to be not only effective in themselves but also interesting in so far as one can assume them to be a genuine revelation of a contemporary Russian mood. It is a pity that these moments are so few and that their effect is so quickly lost as soon as the conventional dramatic machinery begins to revolve again. A really good play might have been built around them.

Where, then, is the skulduggery whose existence we have more or less taken for granted? Most of the sentiments, far from being characteristically Marxian, seem astonishingly bourgeois. Not only flowers but even champagne and English tobacco are spoken of with favor; we are told that the dignity of the individual is a *sine qua non* for a good society; that it is better to obey the call of your own vocation than to try to do what the state needs to have done; and even that love—good old-fashioned romantic love at that—is the most important thing in the world. What could be more soothing than that to bourgeois ears, and if it represents the official line at the moment, what could be a stronger argument in favor of sending those Russian wives back to their English husbands? One can almost imagine whoever is responsible for the decision leaving a performance of "The Whole World Over" to rush back to his office where he signs the necessary papers and murmurs with tears in his eyes: "Bless you, my children. *Amor vincit omnia!*"

But let us suppose if we can that the play was written primarily for foreign consumption and that the author is Machiavellian enough to realize that in the America of the moment propaganda would be the worst possible propaganda and that nothing would do the Russian cause more good than the conviction that Russian sentiments are really very much like our own. Suppose that the end of the play in which the just demobilized colonel drinks a toast to "A future without uniforms" was really written to persuade us to destroy our plutonium stockpiles. Far-fetched you say? Perhaps. But it is really doing Mr. Simonov a service to fetch it so far. He has, I am told, recently declared not only that all plays should have a political purpose but that the very casting of them should also—in some way not made clear—be controlled by political considerations. I offer him my interpretation of the present play as a free gift to his defense if he should ever be summoned to explain how he happened to write "The Whole World Over."

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE relative poverty of American art in the last twenty years imposes superlatives in discussing anyone who shows a minimum of talent coupled with seriousness. The gulf between the mass of what is popular as modern art and the few items valid as modern art is immense. To call the latter merely "better" than the former is inaccurate and unjust; it has to be called the "best." Yet this "best" has seldom meant "best" or even "better" in relation to world art. Usually it has had to be given a local qualification.

Two weeks ago I wrote that David Smith was the best sculptor this country has produced. The quality of four or five pieces at his current show of work done in 1946 and 1947 (at the Willard Gallery through April 26) requires me

ADVENTURES IN THE REALM OF IDEAS

And Other Essays by Victor S. Yarros. 20 essays (about 40,000 words) that range from Russian revolutionary Socialism through American Philosophical Anarchism, to Pragmatism and Democratic Socialism. 75¢ per copy, prepaid. Mail orders to:

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS

BOX 1977 GIRARD, KANSAS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say even more. Sculpture has until quite lately been a poor thing in this country, and to call Smith the best of all American sculptors is not to claim so very much for him, the achievements of Lachaise, Flannagan, and Calder notwithstanding. In my opinion Smith is already one of the great sculptors of the twentieth century *anywhere,* deserving to stand next to Brancusi, Lipchitz, Giacometti, Gonzales, not to mention Laurens and Moore. That is, he is making an absolute contribution to the development of world as well as American art. The course of sculpture in other countries will be affected by what he is doing; the French, British, Germans, and others will have to take him into account. And almost equally important at this moment to criticism is the fact that Smith presents it with a relatively fixed point from which to measure the rest of the field here in America.

The baroque exuberance and invention that disrupted Smith's style in 1944 and 1945 has in this latest work been assimilated into a new unity of style that moves again with that "classical" spareness and speed which is so indispensable to the new linear, pictorial sculpture of our time. That Smith has been so well able to subdue his embroidery and luxuriance to this streamlining without emasculating his invention represents a feat and establishes a strong example. It is easy to be elegant in Smith's vein at the cost of power; it is far from easy to combine the two. His sculpture for all its energy presents an elegance like that of Picasso's and Braque's high cubism; there is a similar clarity and a similar plenitude, both of which come from the artist's certainty of having a style that is able to say everything he has to say with the maximum of economy. Yet at the same time the content of Smith's art is worlds away from cubism, being the product of an age whose remaining optimism—of which Smith seems to have plenty—has become the private affair of individuals; whereas the cubists regarded the disenchantment of the world as a triumph for man, later artists like Smith have become so disillusioned with that triumph that they now seek new myths and new obscurities inside themselves.

The best piece at the present show is beyond question the steel, bronze, and silver "Orchard Landscape," whose tail and spreading feathers are a feat of draftsmanship no less than of sculpture. Other successful pieces are "Deserted Garden" in the same materials, "Specter of Mother" in steel and stainless steel, the steel, bronze, and stainless-steel "Specter—Race for Survival," the steel "Head," the steel, bronze, cast-iron, and stainless-steel "Landscape with Strata," and the polychromatic steel "Helmholtzian Landscape." This last piece is not quite pushed through to final unity, but the richness of its suggestion and possibilities almost redeems that fault. In the future we may expect to see chromatic works from Smith's hand that belong as much to painting as to sculpture.

There are also some very bad pieces, among them the polychromatic carbon-steel "Personage from Stove City" and the massive fabricated-bronze "Euterpe and Terpsichore," the second of which demonstrates again how unsuited Smith's talent has become to the monolithic and how much he remains a draftsman, not a modeler or carver. But it can be said, really, that Smith needs his failures, for out of these arise ideas that go on to become the nuclei of masterpieces in the end.

It is to be hoped that Smith's show sells sufficiently to permit him to embark on larger-scale works. He shows every aptitude for heroic sizes, and it is only the question of expense that has confined him so far to relatively small table and pedestal sculpture.

David Hare's bronze, cement, and plaster figures at Art of This Century (extended through April 26), although different enough in style from Smith's work, belong in the same category of pictorial sculpture. If Smith is baroque, Hare is gothic, more angular and awkward, less closely related to cubism and more directly inspired by surrealism. Although under thirty and working as a sculptor only in the last three or four years, Hare has already shown enough promise to place him in the forefront of what now begins to seem, not a renaissance, but a *naissance* of sculpture in America: sculpture that in its methods and very utensils no less than in its conceptions—which, like our architecture and engineering, tend toward linearism, flat surfaces, and the denial of weight and mass—attaches itself more intimately to industrialism than any other form of art now being practiced.

Hare is still somewhat too prone to the self-indulgence and whimsey of surrealism to channel his powers into a style. Thus, at his present show, any unity the very fact of his temperament might impose is still not enough to overcome the impression of eclecticism and capriciousness. But one feels, as in Smith's case, better this waywardness and muscle-flexing than the anemia of good taste. In the end, when Hare does develop a style, it will say and include more, precisely because of the excess it will have to subdue. The signs of such a style were present in his last year's show; they have not multiplied in this year's, but they persist even more strongly, so to speak, in such more recent pieces as the bronze "Fisherman," and the bronze nude that was shown at the Hugo Gallery's surrealist show last month. It is my hope that Hare will confine his surrealism more strictly to the role of stimulant and not let it usurp as many of the functions of aesthetic preceptor as it has in the past.

The exhibition of works by Mirko, a new young Italian sculptor, at Knoedler's (through April 19) offers an epilogue. This, indeed, is the last gasp of academic sculpture—and that it is even a gasp and not merely a sigh is due to the fact that it is expelled by an artist of real talent. Like Chirico's, Mirko's parody destroys—in this case, the classical tradition of bronze casting. His bronze figures have the texture and a suggestion of the contours, if not the size, of eroded, oxidized archaic Greek figurines, although there is nothing of archaic stiffness about them. The distortions and simplifications are licensed by post-Rodinesque sculpture—which is about all they have to do with modern art. And yet Mirko's sculpture in such pieces as the "Pegasus," the "Figure," and the "Chimera No. 1" has a certain contained vehemence underneath its impressionism and period stylization. Nor do the classical and Renaissance motifs he favors retain enough of their original chasteness to hide a curious sexuality and sadism. This is academic, archaeological art all right, but it is also very up to date. Chirico set the example. And is all the new Italian art as academic and, at the same time, as full of the *Zeitgeist* as this? It is a shame to see a talent as natively strong as Mirko's waste itself and everything it has to say about modern life on the academic, only because Italian despair, pride, and nostalgia have made the academic *de rigueur.*

HENRY WALLACE
AN UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY
By Dwight Macdonald
in the next two issues of America's hard-hitting radical magazine.
politics Dept. A
45 Astor Place
New York 3, N. Y.
NEXT TWO ISSUES
$1.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HAVING resumed production of the Glyndebourne Festival recording of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," Victor has sent copies of the new pressings to reviewers for comment. Listening to the performance today I have reservations about some of the individual singers that I did not have when the recording was first issued here; but I still find the whole a beautiful and affecting achievement. Comparing the new copy with my old one I find the sound from the new records a little dimmer, their surfaces vastly and disturbingly noisier—which leads me to wonder whether Victor obtained new shells from H. M. V. in England for the new pressings. It has issued them without the original booklets containing the texts that are indispensable for complete appreciation of the music.

Even the copies I have been getting of Victor's new recordings have very noisy surfaces. One of these new recordings is that of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 (referred to as the "Moonlight"), played by Horowitz (Set 1115; $2.85). He drags and sentimentalizes the first movement, but plays the second and third movements quite well except for a detail here and there which reveals how much a performance of Beethoven is for Horowitz an exercise in the Horowitz style of playing the piano. Thus, much of that style is an alternation of finicky crescendos and decrescendos with no point other than the dazzling precision of their execution; and in the nineteenth and twentieth measures of the third movement, where Beethoven carries a crescendo straight up to the climax of its force, we get a Beethoven crescendo in the nineteenth, a finicky, devitalizing Horowitz decrescendo in the twentieth. The performance is beautifully recorded.

Noisy also are the surfaces of the single disc (11-9447; $1) with Stravinsky's "Fireworks" and the Sicilienne from Fauré's "Pelléas et Mélisande" music. The works are slight; the performances by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony excellent and beautifully recorded.

Columbia has issued a volume of arias from "Aida," "Otello," "Don Giovanni," "Tosca," "La Gioconda," and "Cavalleria Rusticana," sung by Traubel (Set 675; $4). This is not music one would have expected her to sing well; and as a matter of fact she chews up some of it with over-expressive phrasing; but in most of the arias the singing itself is far better than what one has heard in her other Columbia performances: the big tones may be cold but they are produced freely with little or no tremolo—the lower tones being more beautiful than the high (some of the music is transposed down a bit). But in the aria from "Don Giovanni" the voice is tremolo-ridden and shrieky. The orchestral accompaniments range from fair to poor, and are not well-recorded.

From Vanguard, a new company, I have received two single records—one with an engaging Toccata Guatemala by Sam Morgenstern and an uninteresting "Song of Worlds Unseen" by Chandler Davis, well-performed by Bertha Melnik, pianist; the other with Mahler's "Wer hat dies' Liedlein erdacht" and Franz's "Zwei welke Rosen," which come out uninteresting in very poor performances by Mary Paull, soprano, and Kenneth Hieber, pianist.

A member of the faculty of one of the big universities writes: "The policies of the domestic companies are driving me to importations, and I should think would drive you to give more attention to importations. In 1946 I spent only $35 on records, and so far this year I have bought only three domestic albums—the recent Haydn Opus 74 No. 3 and two older things I happened to run across—and two single records. You might relay that to your commercial friends, although"—he adds more realistically—"it may not mean much, since such collectors are in a minority and do not figure much in the vast sales that Victor and Columbia aim for." Not only that, but Victor and Columbia have what amount to cartel agreements with their European affiliates which enable them to keep some recordings out and collect a profit on every imported record they allow in.

Nor are Victor and Columbia likely to worry about the few people like the musician I know who writes me from Connecticut: "I have stopped buying . . . I am disgusted with the recording a big firm like Columbia does of the Budapest Quartet, spoiling unique performances like those of the Schubert C major Quintet and Beethoven's Opus 132, which I bought despite the atrocious distortion of the sound." And he doesn't think more of Victor for its recording of Berlioz's "Harold in Italy."

As for me, though some readers of this column may be interested in European recordings I can report only on the ones that are sent to me for review—the London Deccas and the Italian C. E. T. R. A.s. Thus I have been able to hear some of the Tagliavini records that C. E. T. R. A. has put into albums, and have found the voice fresh but a little dry and hard (with none of the splendor of Bjoerling's voice a few years ago), the tones produced with extraordinary ease, the phrasing full of the mannerisms of Italian tenors (except Schipa), including the sob. I liked best his performances of excerpts from "Falstaff" and "Sonnambula" on BB-25022; and there is, of course, his singing in the performance of Mozart's Requiem, where he is kept under control by de Sabata.

As for the letter on page 463 from Storer P. Lunt, publisher of Lang's *Music in Western Civilization*—it is on a wrong track. I have referred to German musicologists as one does to London economists or Chicago jazz musicians—to describe not their place of birth but their school of thought or operation.

Is America TRULY a healthy nation?
Need every 8th person die of cancer?
Why have 6 countries death rates lower than ours?
Should the practice of medicine be a monopoly?
These and other vital questions affecting YOUR HEALTH will be answered by

10 Outstanding Authorities on Drugless Healing Methods
in a SYMPOSIUM
"NEW WAYS TO HEALTH: A Challenge to Modern Medicine"

Emanuel M. Viscusi, M.D. "A Doctor Rebels!"
Harry Gilgulin "The Fifth Freedom: Medical Liberty"
Dr. Alice Chase "New Health for Women"
Robert Anderson, N.D. "Perfecting Health Through Nature"
Edward Whitmont, M.D. "Dietary vs. Medical Methods"
Max Warmbrand, Ph.T. "Can Nature Heal?"
Clara Gold Nichter "Health via the Kitchen"
J. D. Trop "Making the Public Food Conscious"
Alexander Markey "The Metaphysics of Health"
Rev. Dr. Max Felshin "The Sin of Being Sick"
Chairman: SYMON GOULD

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

THIS SUNDAY (APRIL 20) at 2 P. M.

MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street & 8th Avenue

ADMISSION $1.00 (plus 20¢ tax)
Come Early for Best Seats — Doors Open 1 P. M.
Tickets obtainable at offices of the
LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION
117 West 48th Street, New York City
Phone: CIrcle 5-6194

☞ TO OUT-OF-TOWNERS: We are preparing a published DIGEST of the above proceedings in a limited edition, which will be sent to any address on receipt of $1 postpaid. Order your copy at once.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO *NOW*

Swashbuckling extravaganza . . . good fun."—*N. Y. Post*

DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR.
MAUREEN **O'HARA** • WALTER **SLEZAK**

'Sinbad the Sailor'

IN TECHNICOLOR
—AND—
'BEAT THE BAND'
FRANCES LANGFORD • GENE KRUPA

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"INTENSELY MOVING."—N. Y. Post
JIMMY STEWART
in FRANK CAPRA'S
'It's A Wonderful Life'
with DONNA REED • LIONEL BARRYMORE
—AND—
'STEP BY STEP'
LAWRENCE TIERNEY • ANNE JEFFREYS

MOTION PICTURE

BOB HOPE • DOROTHY LAMOUR
'My Favorite Brunette'
A PARAMOUNT PICTURE
—IN PERSON—
JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA
PLUS
PAT HENNING • LYN SHIRLEY
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION
LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE

Doors Open at 9:30 A.M. 55¢ TO 1 P.M. (Tax. Incl.) Mon. to Fri. Inclusive

NOW TIMES SQUARE **PARAMOUNT** Midnight Feature Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."
—*Garland, Journal-Amer.*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings $8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN *Present*
In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
"DEFINITELY A HIT."—*Morehouse, Sun*
JOHN LOVES MARY
A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA
Directed by MR. LOGAN
MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A DELIGHTFUL COMEDY."—*Atkinson, Times*
HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY
A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—*Barnes, Herald Tribune*
ETHEL MERMAN
In the Musical Smash
ANNIE GET YOUR GUN
Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN
Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON *Directed by* Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

+ Give Gladly +

Planning to Advertise
in **The Nation?**

HERE ARE SOME VITAL STATISTICS!

General Advertising — $300 per page
Publishers & Local — 240 per page

Classified Display — $7.39 per inch
Classified — 74c a line (six words)
minimum three lines

Call or write today for additional data on deadlines and discounts!

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
Twenty Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation.*

Please address your orders to
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
The NATION
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Not a German

Dear Sirs: I have just read B. H. Haggin's column on music in your issue of March 29 and am surprised to find the writer again dwelling on the German aspect of Paul Henry Lang, whose work we publish.

Professor Lang is not of German origin. He is Hungarian by birth, of a family which has lived in Hungary for many centuries. It may also not be amiss for Mr. Haggin to know that Professor Lang's musical education has been far more French and American (he took his PH. D. at Cornell) than German. He spent less than two years in Germany. He has lived in this country for the past eighteen years.

STORER B. HUNT, President
W. W. Norton and Company
New York, April 1

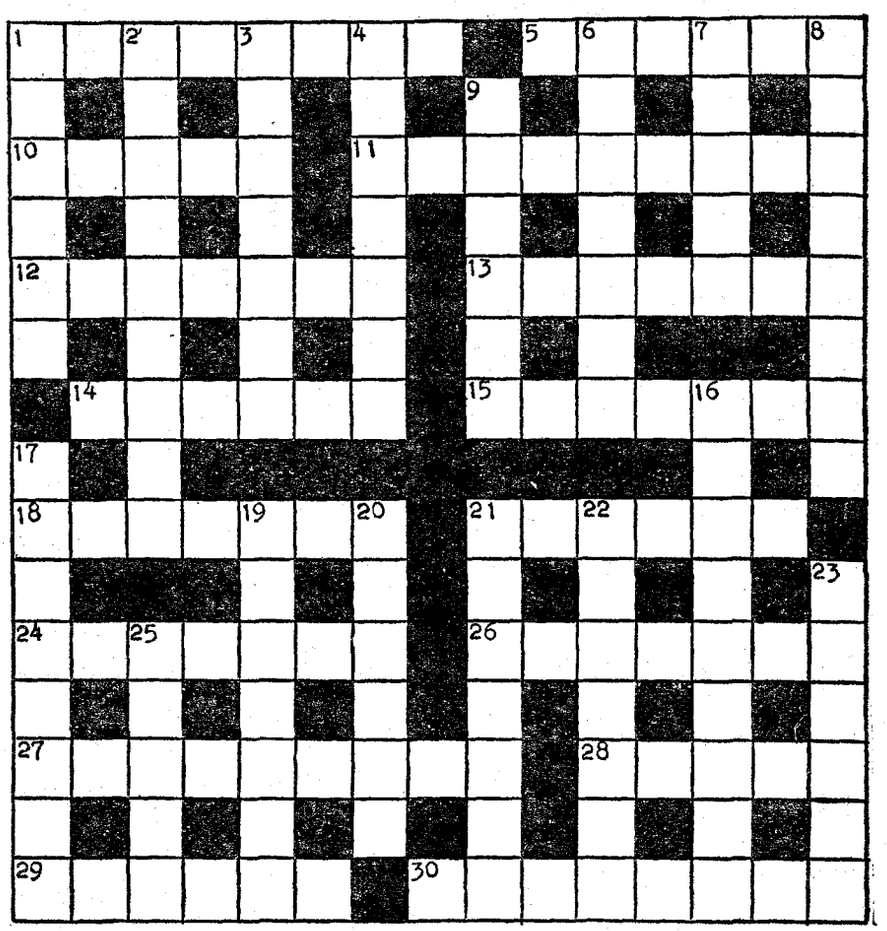
The Real "Appeasers"

Dear Sirs: Reviewing James Burnham's "The Struggle for the World" in your issue of April 5, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., enters an incidental complaint that "arguments considered beneath contempt when urged by conservatives against the foes of Nazi totalitarianism are now trotted out complacently by liberals against the foes of Soviet totalitarianism." But such arguments are surely far less common and specious, perhaps even less beneath contempt, than the kind which consists in applying the odious pre-war label of "appeaser" to everyone who dares plead for mutual understanding and peaceful compromise of differences in our relations with Soviet Russia. One expects this sort of thing from the vast host of Simple Simons who merely parrot the headlines of their favorite newspapers, but not from an associate professor of history at Harvard University. Although he judiciously backs away from the sternest implications inherent in his author's thesis, Mr. Schlesinger concludes that "on the whole, one must prefer his brand of romantic Machiavellianism" "to the confused and messy arguments of the appeasers." Thus the direct insinuation that all who oppose a rabid and suicidal Russophobia such as Mr. Burnham's are "appeasers" of the pre-war stripe.

But argument by epithet, like other primitive weapons, can at times be more dangerous to those who use it than

Crossword Puzzle No. 208

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 For trees (anag.) this is the man you want
5 Moliere found the world a strange one
10 Look! there's a donkey caught in it
11 Her knee is painful
12 Dr. Watson didn't think this islander could be human
13 Country from which Good King Wenceslas last looked out, no doubt
14 A dinner course—and from the sound of it, how the waiter brings it to you
15 East by northeast is one amid the alien corn
18 "As in a - - - - - - -, the eyes of men, After a well-graced actor leaves the stage, Are idly bent on him that enters next, Thinking his prattle to be tedious"
21 Hold on (3 & 3)
24 Tougher than guncotton?
26 Coverlet likely to strain a fowl's constitution
27 Hamlet said the first is the second
28 A great man
29 Pet ram (anagram)
30 Tailors

DOWN

1 A pretty trifle, that's all, Alf
2 House with the side in the middle, or nearly so
3 Is he angry, or merely playing in the barn?
4 Heighten
6 She is in a fret
7 Gets you up at all hours
8 Not a sign of embarrassment in an American Indian (3-6)
9 We won this decisive event from the Japanese
16 Mostly it's a girl sitting on an officer's shoulder
17 Quite a usual line of the hardware man's, no doubt
19 Hands off this national emblem!
20 A winker
21 By no means a sluggish spirit (4 & 3)
22 Wendy's address (4-3)
23 Such villainous-looking beasts might well make Ena shy
25 "Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows; While proudly riding o'er the azure - - - - -"

□—□—□—□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 207

ACROSS:—1 NORMA; 5 MINES; 7 NICE; 9 EMBLEM; 10 LYCEE; 12 TODO; 13 KIDD; 15 STORING; 17 DORCAS; 18 SOLEMN; 19 ALT; 21 PIGGERY; 23 INTONER; 24 RAM; 26 LEASED; 28 IRETON; 31 NONCOMS; 32 USES; 35 FILM; 36 TEPID; 37 THAMES; 38 STUD; 39 PAYEE; 40 CHANT.

DOWN:—1 NEMO; 2 RELETS; 3 ADMIRAL; 4 MELONS; 5 NICK; 6 SHED; 7 NOTED; 8 CEDAR; 11 EILEEN; 14 DONOR; 15 SAGEHEN; 16 GOITERS; 19 AYR; 20 TIM; 21 PALAU; 22 GOATEE; 25 ASCETIC; 27 DOODLE; 28 IMPALA; 29 TWIST; 30 NOMAD; 33 STEP; 34 SPEY; 35 FEST.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to those against whom it is directed. Who are actually the original appeasers of the decade preceding World War II? One need not be a professor of history to know that in the main they were precisely the same persons, or the precise counterparts of those persons, who today are the most intransigent foes of Soviet Russia. And in the main they were actuated by precisely the same emotion that chiefly inspires the post-war anti-Russian campaign—a paranoiac fear of communism, as intense and obsessive as the monarchist fear of democracy after the French Revolution. The appeasers of the thirties were willing to risk any stakes, however high, in the desperate game of "stopping communism." In playing that game they sacrificed the League of Nations, as today they are sacrificing the United Nations; they assisted, condoned, or blinked a long series of monumental crimes committed by totalitarian leaders or regimes; actively or passively they abetted the enemies of popular freedom in every country, until those enemies were powerful enough to defy the world. As end result, in a war which Winston Churchill has said could have been more easily prevented than any other in history, Europe was reduced to ruin and misery, millions turned in desperation to communism where that creed had only its hundreds of thousands of adherents before, and our ally Russia emerged from its blood bath as the second strongest power in the world. Yet today, even before peace has been officially declared, the same champions of disaster are hotly engaged in a renewal of the same fatal crusade; and again they are appeasing or preparing to appease any and every reactionary government that will serve their purposes—as in Spain, Portugal, China, Argentina, Greece, and Turkey. Like the Bourbons of old, they learn nothing and they forget nothing.

In unbroken historical continuity from the rape of Manchuria to the present day, save for those war years when Soviet Russia was bearing the brunt of the Nazi-Fascist assault on human liberties, the actual party of appeasement has been the party with which Mr. Schlesinger and so many other liberals have made "the strange alliance." But at least they should not discredit their own cause by bringing that fact into prominence through their ill-advised resurrection of "appeaser" as an opprobrious epithet and its reckless use against those liberals who from the beginning have remained steadfast in the opposing camp.

WALDO R. BROWN

Warwick, N. Y., April 7

LECTURE SERIES

Young Men's & Women's Division of
AMERICAN ORT
Announces a Lecture Series on
JEWISH LIFE AND HISTORY
beginning Tuesday, April 22—8:15 p.m. at
THE JEWISH TEACHERS' SEMINARY
154 EAST 70th St., N. Y.
Series of six—$5.00—Individual lecture—$1.00
Write or Phone: ORT, 212 5th Ave., AS 4-7452

SITUATION WANTED (FEMALE)

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, confidential secretary, correspondent; mature judgment, long and varied experience; legal, advertising, business and organizations; capable handling affairs and people. Box 1700, c/o The Nation.

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

TEACHER, experienced in elementary, secondary, college, English-for-foreigners, tutoring, eleven years on faculties of first-class schools, wants summer work, vicinity of Lincoln, Neb., Boston, Mass., Philadelphia, Pa. Box 1702, c/o The Nation.

HELP WANTED

POSITION OPEN—Competent male secretary, 28 to 38 years old, wanted to serve as confidential secretary to union executive. Would be necessary to live in Detroit, do some traveling. Expert shorthand, typing required. Applicants must give educational background, experience, previous employment. Write to Box 1703, c/o The Nation.

WANTED—ROOM—APARTMENT

BUSINESS WOMAN desires quiet room with kitchen privileges, (or will share apt.), good transportation. Call **LOngacre 5-6500, EXTENSION 16.**

SUMMER HOME WANTED

WANTED SUMMER RENTAL within 50 miles of Williams College, (Williamstown, Mass.). Tennis, swimming, comfortable home, 6-8 rooms. Box 1701, c/o The Nation.

There are more than 42,232 readers of **The Nation** doing what you are doing — reading this advertisement. If you have something of interest to offer them—call **The Nation Advertising Department** for particulars as to space, cost and closing date of next issue. **BA 7-1066.**

CONTRIBUTORS

E. D. MYERS is the dean of Roanoke College.

MAXWELL S. STEWART, an associate editor of *The Nation,* is the author of "Building for Peace at Home and Abroad" and "Social Security."

ANTHONY BOWER, formerly Hollywood correspondent of *The Nation,* is on the staff of New Directions.

CHARLES E. NOYES is editor of the *Congressional Quarterly,* a publication summarizing the activities of Congress.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation,* is the author of "Southern California Country," "Brothers Under the Skin," and other books.

FUR REMODELING
Superb Workmanship and Styling Economically
M. SCOTT FURS
236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-4917

MISCELLANEOUS

SWAP NECKTIES! (Satisfied swappers everywhere). Mail us one-to-six ties you're sick of. You'll receive pronto same number of handsomely cleaned different ties we got same way. Then you pay mailman $1 plus postage. Far-away store labels wow demoiselles! **TIESWAP, Box 547A, Wilmington, Del.**

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

BOOKS

FREE! SEND FOR FREE LIST of world's finest books! Marriage, Love, Sex, Hygiene, Divorce, Slimming, Alcoholism, Cancer, Sinus, Psychology, Philosophy! Absolutely no obligation. **DANIEL S. MEAD CO., 200 (NA) West 20th St., N. Y. C. 11.**

RUSSIAN BOOKS, old and current. Send for list on your subject. **George Telberg** (Mail Address Only) **3569 Broadway, N.Y.C. 31.**

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. **TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.**

LANGUAGES

SPANISH, RUSSIAN, FRENCH, 26 other phonograph language courses. **ALL MAKES,** sold, bought, rented. Free catalogue. A. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, MUrray Hill 3-1093.

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 R C A Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.
JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.
IMPORTERS
442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED